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THE

WILTSHIRE

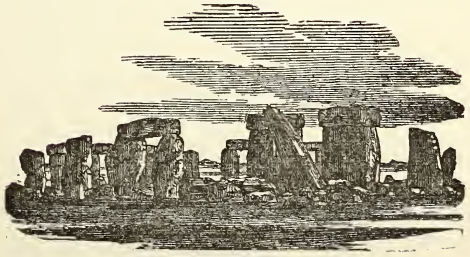
Archæological and Natural History

MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction of the Society

FORMED IN THAT COUNTY A.D. 1853.

VOL. VII.



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WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS

As to the Ancient State of Marlborough.

By F. A. CARRINGTON, ESQ.

WITH respect to this subject, I am not unmindful that Marlborough has already its History, and that there also was a Lecture on the Castle (now the College), by the Bishop of Calcutta; and that I am therefore only a *Leazer* in the Antiquarian field; and that my *niches* of *leazed* Antiquarian lore would have been small in size and but few in number if my friend Mr. T. B. Merriman had not for this purpose kindly thrown open his very extensive and valuable collections relating to Marlborough.

I therefore intend to advert to such matters as have been hitherto either unnoticed, or have been only slightly touched on by others.

I will commence with THE POLL TAX, which was collected in the reign of Richard 2nd, (1378); the Marlborough assessment being in the general Record office. This tax was imposed on all persons above fourteen years old, except clergymen, married women, and common beggars. Two hundred and seventy-four persons paid the tax in Marlborough, whose names and callings are given. Peter Ramenhall, Esq., Adam Kyneton, Liberus (probably a considerable freeholder), and John Janevyne (a tanner who was the Mayor), paying each six and eightpence, the tax on an esquire. Two hostellers, paying each three and fourpence, the same tax as was paid by gentlemen.

The inhabitants of the town then consisted of three fishmongers, three fishermen (no doubt from the number of maigre days), ten tanners, one skinner, one currier, three *peliparii* (leather sellers), ten

souters (shoemakers), three butchers, one baker (which showed that most people then baked at home), three tailors, one shearman, two merchants, one mercer, two ironmongers, one plumber, four weavers, one webber, one saddler, four carpenters, two coopers, one mason, four heliers (tilers), one mustard maker, one glazier, one netmaker, one honeymonger, (a considerable trade before the introduction of West India sugar), one victualler, two brewers, twenty-five men servants (of whom William the Rector's footman was one), forty-eight female servants. Many of the servants of both sexes had no surnames. Eleven labourers were taxed at sixpence each, as were eleven Liberi (probably small freeholders), the tax upon servants being fourpence each, and on the artizans sixpence.

There is one Mareschal who is charged sixpence, but it is stated by Mr. Riley in his introduction to the Liber Albus, that notwithstanding his high sounding appellation, a Mareschal means a shoeing smith.

It has been erroneously supposed that there was no Poll Tax after the revolt of Wat Tyler, in the reign of Richard 2nd: this is not so, as by an Act passed in the eighteenth year of the reign of Charles 2nd, every subject in this kingdom was assessed to a Poll Tax according to his degree; a Duke a hundred pounds, a Marquis eighty pounds, a Baron fifty pounds, a Baronet thirty pounds, a Knight twenty pounds, an Esquire ten pounds, and every common person one shilling. And in the 1st and 2nd years of King William 3rd and Queen Mary a general twelvepenny Poll Tax was granted by the Parliament for the public service.

The Churches.

I will next advert to the Churches, as to which the Commissioners of Chantries (2 Edw. 6, 1548, certif. no. 58), say:—

"The Towne of Marlbrowe is a great Towne, wherein be three parisshe Churches, and in the same a thousand and sixty-one people, which receyve the blessed Communion; in every of which parisshe Churches there is a Vicar inducted, albeyt there lyvingis be so small and their Cures so great, that withoute helpe of some minister they be not able to serve the said Cures."

This number of Communicants appears to be very large, but by

the same certificate it is shown to be proportionally large in other towns in Wiltshire: thus there are Communicants at—

St. Edmund's, Sarum	1700
Mere	800
Chippenham	667
Calne	860
Malmesbury	860
Devizes	900
Bradford	576
Trowbridge	500
Aldbourne	400

These large numbers are accounted for by the fact that before the Protestant Reformation every one above the age of confirmation who did not make his or her confession and receive absolution in Passion Week, could not receive the Holy Sacrament on Easter Sunday, and every one who did not do so, dying within the year, would have been refused Christian burial, except for some very special cause;[1] and the number of Communicants was so great, that in the year 1637 Bishop Davenant made an ordinance that at Aldbourne only two hundred persons at once should receive the Holy Communion, and that on each of four following Sundays.

This ordinance is entered in the Aldbourne Parish Register, and is printed in extenso by the Rev. J. Bliss, A.M., in his edition of Archbishop Laud's works, vol. 6., p. 60.

Bishop Davenant's order is as follows:—

"John by Divine providence Bishop of Sarum.

To the Curate and Churchwardens with the Parishioners of Awborne in the County of Wilts and our Dioces of Sarum, greeting—

Whereas his Mat^ie^. hath beene lately informed that some men factiously disposed have taken upon themselves to place and remoue the Comunion Table

[1] The fourth council of Lateran, Can. 21. ordains "That every one of the faithful of both sexes, after they come to the years of discretion, shall in private faithfully confess all their sins, at least once a year, to their own pastor: and take care to fulfil, to the best of their power, the penance enjoined them: receiving reverently, at least at Easter, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, unless perhaps by the counsel of their pastor, for some reasonable cause, they judge it proper to abstain from it for a time: otherwise let them be excluded out of the Church whilst living, and when they die be deprived of Christian burial." This is given as a rubric by Bishop Challoner in his "Garden of the Soul; a manual of spiritual exercises and instructions. He died in 1781, and was Bishop of Debra, and Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

in the Church at Awborne, and therevpon his highness hath required me to take p^sent order therein.—These are to let you know that both according to the Iniuncions giuen out in the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth for the placing of the Communion Tables in Churches, and by the 82 Canon agreed upon in the first yeare of the Raigne of King James of Blessed Memory, it was intimated that these Tables should ordinarily be sett and stand with the side to the East wall of the Chauncell. I therefore require you, the Churchwardens, and all other persons, not to meddle with the bringing downe or transposing of the Comunion Table as you will answere it at your owne perill.—And because some doe ignorantly suppose that the standing of the Comunion Table where Altars stood in time of Sup.stition has some relish of Popery, and some p.chance may as erroniously conceiue that the placing thereof otherwise when the Holy Comunion is administered savs^rs of Irreuerence: I would haue you take notice from the fore named Iniunction and Canon, from the Rubricke pr^efixed before the administracon of the Lord's supper, and from the first Article not long since inquired of in the Visitacon of our most Reuerend Metropolitan, that the placing of it higher or lower in the Chauncell or in the Church, is by the iudgment of the Church of England a thing indifferent, and to be ordered and guided by the only Rule of Conuenientie.

Now because in things of this nature, to iudge and determine what is most couenient, belongs not to priuate persons, but to those that have Ecclesiasticall authority; I inhibit yo^u the Church Wardens, and all other persons wha^t soeuer, to meddle with the bringing downe of the Comunion Table, or with altering the place thereof at such times as the holy supp. is to be administered, and I require you herein to yeeld obedience vnto what is already iudged most conuenient by my Chauncellor, vnless vpon further consideration and viewe it shall be otherwise ordered. Now to the end that the Minister may neither be ouertoyled, nor the people indecently and inconueniently thronged together when they are to drawe neire and take the Holy Sacrament, and that the frequent celebratio. thereof may never the lesse be continued, I doe further appoint, that thrice in the yeare at the least, there be publique notice giuen in the Church, for fower Comunions, to be held upon fower Sundaies together, and that there come not to the Comunion in one day, above two hundred at the Most. For the better obseruation whereof, and that euery man may know his prop. time, the Curate shall diuide the Parishioners into fower parts, according to his discretio., and as shall most fittingly serue to this purpose. And if any turbulent spirits shall disobey this our Order, hee shall be proceeded against according to the quality of his fault and Misdemeanor.—In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seale Episcopall, this seventeenth day of May, 1637, and in the yeare of our consecration the sixteenth.*"

St. Peter's Church.—This is a Rectory, and had in it (2 Edw. 6, 1548) a Jesus service,[1] of which John Burdsey was the Priest;

* This injunction is referred to by Archbishop Laud in "Laud's speech at the censure of Basterwick" in his works vol. 2. p. 80, and will be printed in the Oxford edition of Laud's works, edited by the Rev. J. Bliss, M.A., vol. 6, p. 60.

[1] The "Jesus Psalter," as used at the present day in the Church of Rome will be found in Bishop Challoner's "Garden of the Soul" above referred to. This Psalter consists of fifteen petitions, and, the name of Jesus being repeated ten times before each of them, the repetition is made thrice fifty times.

Chantry, founded in 1503, of which John Potter was the typendarye (that is, the heir of the founder got a priest for as ttle money as he could); and St. Catharine's Chantry, of which homas Russell was the priest, and of which a part of the undation was a rent of twenty shillings "owte of a tenemente alled the Angell of the possessions of Geffery Daniell." In this hurch there were also Obits (anniversary masses) for John ythewaye, John Awale, John Esten, James Loder, John Wynter, nd Robert Nuttynge.

This Rectory is not mentioned in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas 1288) nor is it to be found either in the Nonæ roll (1341), or in ne Parliamentary Survey of Livings of 1650 which is in Lambeth alace; but in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of King Henry 8, (1534), ol. 2, p. 150, the value is stated to be twelve pounds a year, and homas Blundell to be the Rector.

St. Mary's Church.—This is said to be a Vicarage, but it is not nown who was or is the Rector, but in the Sarum Institutions edited by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.), there is an entry under the ate of 1316, that John Wetwang was instituted to the Vicarage f St. Mary, Marlborough, on the presentation of Raymond de argis, Dean of Salisbury, and in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry (vol. 2, p. 150), the Vicarage of St. Mary in Marlborough is alued at ten pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, and Richard romflette is stated to be the Vicar.[1]

This Living is not mentioned either in Pope Nicholas's taxation 1288), the Nonæ Roll (1341), or in the Parliamentary survey of 650.

In this church there were a Chantry, a Jesus service, and another hantry of the foundation of Foster and Pengryve; and Obits for

[1] In the "Liber Evidentiarum" (a small folio volume of copies of Charters &c., from Henry II. to Queen Elizabeth) preserved in the Registry at Sarum, is he following entry relating to Marlborough "Carta de Ordinacone Vicar erpetuù et ecclię de Merlberg et de annù solut ecclię Sar. A. D. 1238, which hows that Marlborough was either a perpetual vicarage or curacy at that date. By this deed the Bishop [Robert Bingham] orders 20 shillings to be paid to the Dean and Chapter of Sarum towards the finding of a wax light by the hand of he Dean, which light shall burn in the Choir of [the Cathedral of] Sarum every lay and night at matins and at vespers until the Mass.

Thomas Abothe, Richard Austen, John Goddard, William Seymer, Nicholas Ffryse, Thomas Seymer, and John Matthew. Attached to this Vicarage is a Library of valuable Ecclesiastical works given by the Will of the Rev. William White of Pusey, in the county of Berks, dated the twenty-fifth day of October, 1677, in which he desires that every succeeding Vicar of St. Mary's will add one good book to the Library. Two of the most curious are the "Manuale, or Book of Offices," in use before the Reformation, (in which the word "Papa" is struck out with a pen, under an ordinance of King Henry 8th, in 1541); and the "Hours of the Blessed Virgin;" the latter was printed in 1535, and is interspersed with many curious woodcuts.

St. Martin's Church, or Chapel.—This could not have been more than a Chapel, as it does not appear in any of the Ecclesiastical taxations. It is thus mentioned by Leland in his "Journey through Wiltshire, in 1540, (cited, Wilts Arch. Mag. Vol. 1, p. 178):—"There is a Chappel of St. Martyne at the Entre at the est ende of the Towne." Mr. Waylen states this to have been north of the road leading to Mildenhall, between Blowhorn Street and Cold Harbour.[1] The Chantry Commissioners, 2 Edw. 6th, mention "the parisshe of Saynte Marten's in Marleborowe," and state that Richard Croke founded an Obit within the same Church. The sums paid for these Obits varied from two shillings to six and eightpence.

Hermitage.—Of this there is no trace but the name. A Hermit was a person not necessarily a priest, the Bishop issued a commission to two clergymen to examine as to his fitness. Two such were issued by Chandler, Bishop of Salisbury; and Sir Richard Colt Hoare[2] gives the profession of Richard Ludlow, one of the

[1] I was informed by the Rev. E. B. Warren, Vicar of St. Mary's, that human bones have been dug up under a yew tree at this place, F.A.C.

[2] Sir Richard Colt Hoare in his history of Wilts (Hund: of Branch and Dole, p. 161.) gives a copy of a commission dated 1418 addressed to two Canons of Salisbury, to examine a person who was a candidate for the Hermitage of Fisherton Anger: this commission was granted by Bishop Chandler, who in 1423 granted a similar commission to examine Richard Ludlow, who was a candidate to become hermit at the foot of Maidenhead Bridge. Sir R. C. H. also gives a copy of the profession of Richard Ludlow as a hermit, which is in English, and also states that in 1352 Bishop Wyvil issued an Episcopal mandate against some lay person who had assumed a clerical dress not being in Orders,

hermits, which is to *hear* Mass every day, and on Sundays and holy-days twice, and say fifteen Paternoster and Aves. The hermit was "enclosed" in his Hermitage, as it was called, with a religious service; that "*in Usum Sarum,*" being contained in a MS. of the reign of Edw. 4th, now in the British Museum. (Harl. MS. No. 873, fol. 18 b).

Simon de Gandavo Bishop of Salisbury, who died May 31st, 1315, made a code of regulations for Hermits and Anchoresses, which I went to the British Museum to consult. A beautifully written manuscript volume was brought to me, and I was told there were two other manuscripts of the same work, all three being in the Cotton Library. Had the good Bishop written in Latin I should have understood his ordinances; had he written in the Norman language I would have tried to have done so, but as he wrote in what I suppose he considered to be English, I could not read a sentence; indeed I at first supposed that the language was German but I have since ascertained that ladies well versed in German can read no more of it than I can. I was about to give up the Bishop's ordinances in despair, when I ascertained that the Camden Society had come to the rescue, by bringing out a beautiful edition of the work with the various readings, and an admirable translation by the Rev. Prebendary Morton, B.D.[1]

---

and pretended to be a hermit at Fisherton, and that the Bishop in consequence of this laid the Chapel in which he officiated under an interdict; and he adds that in 1348 a dispensation was granted to the hermit at Fisherton, to celebrate Divine Worship in the Chapel there. Dr. Ingram in his "Memorials of Codford St. Mary," (p. 48,) gives a copy of the profession of Richard Ludlow, and at (p. 47,) gives a translation of the license granted by King Edward 2nd. to Oliver De Ingham to endow a hermitage at East Codford, with two acres of land: this is dated June 6th, 1317, and is extracted from the Patent Rolls, 10 Edward 2d. p. 2. m. 8.

[1] The following is a specimen of the English of Simon de Gandavo:—Nu aski ze hwat riwle ze ancren schullen holden? Ye schullen alleis weis, mid alle mitite & mid alle strencðe, wel witen þe iure, & þe uttre vor hire sale—þe iure is enere ilube: þe uttre is misliebe.

Which is thus translated:—"Do you now ask what rule you Anchoresses should observe? Ye should by all means, with all your might and with all your strength, keep well the inward rule and for its sake the outward. The inward rule is always alike."

The Corporation Seals.—As to these see *ante*, Vol. III, p. 114.

The Old Market House, Marlborough.—As to this see *ante* Vol. III, p. 106.

The Military Musters.

There is in the Public Record Office a manuscript volume, (privately printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.),

"The certyfycatt of the vewe of abull men as well Archars as Byllmen taken the X daye of Aprill, in the XXXth yere of the reign of our Sovereign Lorde King Henry the VIIIth, by the Grace of God Kinge of Englande and of France, defendour of the fayth, Lorde of Ireland, and in the earth most suppreme hed of the Churche of Englande, by Sir Henry Longe, Knight, John Hamlyn, Esquyer, and Wylliam Stump, Esquyer; Commissioners; assyned by vertue of of the Kyngs Commysshyon to them and to others dyrected, whiche abull men theyr names hereafter follow, that ys to saye: The Hundred of Northe Damerham, Chyppenham, Callne, Malmesbury, and Wharwell Down."

"The towne and boroughe of Marlboroughe" mustered 62 Archers,* including the names of 'Richard Brannyng' (evidently Banning), and Randall Meryman, and 32 Billmen. The Mayor, Richard Dickenson, providing a harness (suit of armour), a bow and a horse; other inhabitants providing 14 harnesses, bows, swords, sallets (helmets), splints (gauntlets), daggers, and sheafs of arrows.

There were annual musters at Marlborough, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I; commencing in the year 1584, and ending 1618.

The entries of these musters are contained in one of the Corporation Books at Marlborough, and are interesting as showing the construction of the militia, or trained bands of that period, thus in the muster of all the able men within the borough on Nov. 3rd, 1587, evidently a levy en masse, to repel the Spanish Armada, there were 57 pikemen, 104 calivers (the caliver being a short matchlock fired without a rest), 12 archers, 71 billmen; no billmen appearing after 1588, and no archers after 1595; and in another large muster of 1601, the force was 61 pikemen, 63 musketeers (the musket being a long matchlock fired with a rest), 109 calivers, 24 pioneers.

The following are specimens of the entries of these musters:—

1584.

Corslets.

Anthony Diston, Maior	j Corsl.
John Lovell	j Corsl.
John Cornewall	j Corsl.
Robte. Longe	j Corsl.
Thomas Weare als. Browne	j Corsl.

* The archers at this time probably acted as skirmishers, as the riflemen and light companies do now; the billmen, being the infantry of the line.

ARCHERS.

Richarde Banninge . . . . . j Arch.
Richarde Harper . . . . . j Arch.
John Cole . . . . . j Arch.
Thoms. Boy als. Capron . . . . . j Arch.
Robte. Johnson . . . . . j Arch.
Will^{m}. Redforde . . . . . j Arch.
Daniell Hall . . . . . j Arch.
Ricus. Thomas als. Grinfeilde. . . . . j Arch.

BYLMEN.

Richarde Coleman . . . . . j Byll.
Richarde Cornewall . . . . . j Bill.
Anthony Hawks . . . . . j Bill.
Robte. Pearse . . . . . j Bill.
W^{m}. Blissett and Thomas Blissett. . . . j Bill.
Willm. Page H. J. W^{m}. Grinfeilde . . . j Bill.

BURGUS DE MARLEBROUGHE.

vij die Maij. 1618. The names of all the trayned Souldiers w.thin the said burroughe, and of all the p'sons by whom they are furnished at the Musters, taken at Marlebrough the day and year aforesaide.

Pyks furnished.—Thomas Rymell furnished by—Richard Digges, Esq.
9 George Jaques fur. by—Phillipp ffrancklyn.
Richard Midwinter fur. by—Johann Diston, Widow.
Lewis Chappell, fur. by—Edward Hinton, gent., & Edw. Hearst.
John Eaton, jun., fur. by—Nich. Edwards & Robert Bryant.
Thomas Whityate, fur. by—John Baylie & Walter Baylie.
Thomas Kickwick, fur. by—Xpofer Ffinchthwaite & Tho. Newcombe.
Thomas Mott, fur. by—Willm. Ffrancklyn.
Maurice Shakerley, fur. by—Robt. Harrison.

Musquetts—Richard Grinfield, fur. by—Robert Crapon & Tho. Cullerne.
9 Henry Crooke, fur. by—Thomas Patie.
Willm. Dismer, fur. by—Willm. Ffry & John Purlyn.
Willm. Withers, fur. by—Tho. Bennett & Tho. Newby.
John Garlicke, fur. by—Jo. Tarrant and Swithin Hairs.
Richard Garlicke, fur. by—Rob^{t}. and Sam. Hitchcocke.
Walter Jefferies, fur. by—Jo. Withers & Tho. Grigge.
Edward Jones, fur. by—Anth. Gunter & James Ellyot.
Thomas Heale, fur. by—W^{m}. Wake & Sim Dringe.

Calyvers—W^{m}. Davis, fur. by—Richard Grinfeild, sen.
9 John Hillier, fur. by—Stephen Lawrence.
Thomas Haines, fur. by—John Goddard, gent.
Willm. Gunter, fur. by—W^{m}. Blissett & Edith Nicholas.
John Hill, fur. by—Willm. Bigges.
Thomas Treibrett, fur. by—Willm. Parratt.
Willm. Woodley, fur. by—Maurice Hiccox.

Thomas Winter, fur. by—Tho. Dawes & W^m^. Hill.
Willm. Whitebread, fur. by—Robt. Clem^ts^ & his sonne.

In connexion with this subject, I may mention that in the splendid collection of Manuscripts of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., at Middle Hill, there is a list of

The Wiltshire Contributions for resisting the Spanish Armada, in 1588.

		£
March.	John Thistlewaite	25
	Sir Walter Hungerford	50
	Edward Hungerford	25
	Edward Horton	50
	John Longe, sen^r^	25
	Roger Blayden	25
	John Truslowe†	25
	Thomas Goddard	25
	Thomas Hulbert	25
	William Read	25

May. In this month each of the following is a subscriber of £25.

Richard Modie	Thomas Wallys
Alice Gowen, Vidua	Dame Jane Bridges
Edmunde Ludlow	Henry White
John Cornall†	Anthony Gerringe
Sir Edward Baynton	William Lea

		£
June.	Thomas Weston	25
	Nicholas Downe	25
	William Darrell	50
	Peter Polden	25
	William Noyes	25
	Richard Lavington	25
	John Street	25
	George Farewell	25
July.	Sir John Danvers	50
November.	John Harding	25
	William Brounker	25
	Charles Vaughan	25
	William Feltham	25
	John Dauntsey	25
April.	Lawrence Hyde†	25

And in this month each of the following is a subscriber of £25.

William Corderay	Jane Mountpesson, Vidua
Michael Erneley	John Flower
Thomas Hutchins	Jeffery Whiteson
Thomas Stevens	Thomas Dowse
Henry Longe	Frances Greene

Stephen Duckett	Thomas Bennett
George Scrope	Thomasine Grove, Vidua
Thomas Chaffyn	William Young
William Pinckney	Anthony Diston†
William Eyre	William Kember
William Webbe	John Lovell
Walter Hungerford	William Stamford
William Sadler	John Hunte
Thomas Lodge	John Baylie
Nicholas St. John	Thomas Joye
Bartholomew Horsey	William Button
William Baskervile	William Recor
William Jordan	Richard Barnard
Thomas Toppe	John Thynne

I believe those marked † were inhabitants of Marlborough.

In the year 1794 "the Marlborough troop of Yeomanry Cavalry," was raised by the late Marquis of Ailesbury, and has continued to be a very efficient corps ever since; and they did great service to the country by putting down the agricultural riots in Wiltshire, in the year 1830. This troop was at the beginning of the present century nicknamed "the Potatoe Choppers," which arose in this way. In one of the rides of Savernake forest, potatoes were put on the tops of sticks, which the cavalry rode at, and at a full gallop cut the potatoes off the sticks. James Nicholas of Durley used to put the potatoes on the sticks; and he also placed rings on other sticks, for the cavalry in like manner to take off on the points of their swords; and I was assured by an eye witness that the cavalry were very successful in these feats.

The Civil Wars.

King Charles I. passed the night of the 10th April, 1644, at Marlborough, at Lord Seymour's, and was five nights on a visit to his Lordship at Marlborough, from the 12th to the 17th of November in the same year, when he went to the Bear at Hungerford[1].

We also find from a letter that in 1642, 300 of the parliament troopers quartered themselves in Marlborough and behaved exceedingly ill at the houses at which they were, and that the next

[1] Iter Carolinum, printed in the Rev. J. Gutch's Collect. Cur. vol. 20, p. 432 and 438.

day 100 cavaliers came, and behaved so differently that the servants stated that they would rather have 100 cavaliers than 10 roundheads.

From another letter it appears that on Friday 25th Nov., 1642, Lord Digby summoned the town to surrender, sending a message by "Master Vincent Goddard" which led to some skirmishing, and on Monday Dec. 5th, Lord Wilmot, with 7000 men, and 6 or 7 great guns, took the town by assault, carried off from 100 to 120 prisoners, and injured the town to the amount of £50,000. Many cannon shot were found, some of 22lb, some of 18lb, some 15lb, "and some we saw" (adds the letter) "of 2lb shot, as it seemed from some drake."[1]

In 1643 there seems to have been a sort of Cavalier foray near Marlborough, when some Cavaliers took a load of cloth, 12 horses, and 8 oxen; and afterwards 12 Cavaliers took 8 oxen more from two men, driving them to London; which being heard of by the Marlborough townsmen, they with one musket, some forks and halberds, pursued the Cavaliers to Ogbourne, and recovered the cloth and 8 of the oxen, and restored them to their owners.[2]

The Fires.

On the 28th April 1652, there was a great fire at Marlborough; it commenced at the house of Mr. Freeman, a tanner, at the south side of St. Peter's Church, and burnt both sides of the street up to the Market-house and St. Mary's Church, injuring the former to the extent of £1000, and the latter £1600. Four Dutchmen who assisted at the fire were burnt to death, as were a tailor's wife and a postboy. A complete list of the sufferers, with their trades, and the amount of their losses, is still extant in the possession of our local secretary, Mr. T. B. Merriman, including the names of John and Nathaniel Bailey, grocers, £1650; Robert Bryant, chandler, £1106; Thomas Bayley, silkman, £2399; William Gough, goldsmith, £1134; John Laurence, the White Hart, £1100; there were many other large sums, and the lowest are "old James the cobbler," £1;

[1] The word drake often occurs at the time of the Civil Wars, to denote a small cannon. From *draco*, a dragon, (Johnson's Dict.)

[2] This statement and the letters which precede it, are in Mr. Merriman's Collections.

Richard Wyatt tax-gatherer, £1; and others. The total amount of the losses being £63,618.

This town again suffered from fire to the extent of £600 in 1679—and to the extent of £2000 more in April, 1690, after which an Act of Parliament was obtained, making it an indictable offence to have a house thatched in Marlborough, and at present there is only one thatched house in the town, the Coach and Horses Inn, near the college. The Act of Parliament has not been quite a dead letter, as about the year 1772, Mr. Colman, a currier, was indicted for having a house thatched in Marlborough, and the indictment is printed in Wentworth's Special Pleadings.[1]

The Postal Arrangements.

At the end of the military muster book at Marlborough, is "A note of the Counsell's lres (privy council's Letters)," touching post horses, dated 1597, it is as follows:—

"A convenient number of able horses, mares, geldings and naggs, wth their convenient furniture, as the necessitie of the service shall require, to be kept in redines from VI dayes to VI dayes at the charges of the owners, by the assistance of the L. Lieuten'nts, and their Deputies Justices of the peace, and head officers, in townes corporat, as by the posts appointed should be thought meet for the spedy and p'sent horsinge away of posts &c., that there be no p'cialitie but that the country e'ry where do serve and be charged alike. If Constables and Officers refuze to take upp suche horses, then the posts to take them where they are to be had fro VI dayes to VI dayes to be kept in readynes to serve and the country nere not to be more charged than those further of, but the s'vice equally to be supplyed wherein they are, (as they shall nede the same,) to have th assistance of the L. Lieuten'nts, his Deputies Justices of peace, and other head officers, who are required to yield their best and spediest furtherance."

Much information as to the ancient state of the Post-office and the arrangements which preceded it, will be found in the Appendix to the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on the Post-office, in the year 1835.[2]

The Corn Trade.

In the reigns of the house of Tudor, persons who bought corn at one place and carried it to another to sell and made profit by it, were termed badgers, and were liable to be indicted as forestallers,

[1] Vol. 6, p. 431. [2] Rep. No. 582.

ingrossers and regrators, unless they were licensed by the magistrates at the Quarter Sessions. On this subject the Corporation books at Marlborough contain the following entries:—

"XXXth of Aprill A°. XXXIX° Elizabeth &c. At the quarter sessions holden at the Devizes, the daie and yere above written, W^{m}. Brouncker Richard Modie and W^{m}. Rede, Esquires, have licensed Rob^{te}. Miller of Malmesbury, to be a badgar for one whole yere according to the fourme of the statutes A°. 6th. Eliz.

"6^{h}. die Mar. A°. Dmi. 1587. Md that this daie Edward White of Brinkewothe in the county of Wilts Baker is licensed by W^{m}. Daniell, Esquire, and Richarde Hearste, Maio^{r} of this boroughe, to buy in this markett wekely, untill the next quarter sessions to be holden, a large iiij bz. (bushels) of Wheate and six busshells of Barlie."

"XII°. die Januarii A°. XXIX° Elizabeth Reg. At the Sessions holden at Newe Sar., Gyles Eseourte, Jasper More, and Thomas Mompesson, Esquires, have licensed Gyles Masemore of Eastcott, in eo^{uy}. Wilts, laborer, to be a badger of corne, graine, butter and eheese, as is above meneioned."

"I^{n} the XXVIth of Aprill Anno sup^{a} dict—Thomas Watton, John Warnaforde and Riehard Mody, Esquiers, have lieensed John Loveloek of Pirton to be a badger wth iij horses for xj bushells of barley, wekeley at Highworthe, Marlebroughe and Wotton Basset, and to be solde in Malmesbury Markett."

The Inns.

The Castle was opened as an Inn in 1752, the Angel was an Inn in 1548[1].

The following Advertisement appeared in the *Salisbury Journal*, and *Devizes Mercury*, of Monday, Aug. 17th, 1752, printed by Benjamin Collins, on the New Canal at Salisbury, and also published by T. Burrough, Bookseller in Devizes.

"I beg leave to inform the publiek, that I have fitted up the Castle at Marlborough in the most genteel and eommodious manner, and opened it as an Inn, where the Nobility, Gentry, &c., may depend on the best aecommodation and Treatment. The Favour of whose Company will be always greatefully aeknowledged by

Their most obedient Servant,
George Smith,
late of the Artillery-Ground, London.

***Neat Post-Chaises."

The Stage Coaches,

The following advertisement of a Coach proprietor, appears in the Commonwealth Mercury, for the week commencing 18 Nov, 1658.

[1] See *ante*, p. 5.

"All persons that have occasion to travel from London to Marlborough in the County of Wilts, or any place on that road, as Newbury, Hungerford, &c., or thereabouts or from thence to London, may conveniently go by Coach every Munday at the Post-house in Marlborough, and every Thursday at the Red Lion in Fleet Street. By Onesiphorus Tap, Post Master at Marlborough."

In the 2nd. vol. of the reports of Sir Bartholomew Shower there is a case of Lovett against Hobbs, [p. 127,] it is as follows:—

"Case. Plaintiff declares for that Richard Hobbs 1 Nov., 31 Car. 2, [1679,] and long before and after was and yet is a common Hackney Coachman, and a common Carrier, as well of mens persons as of their goods and chattels in his coach from the Boroughe of Marlborough to the city of London, and thence to Marlborough *pro mercede et stipendio*, [for hire and reward,] to be paid for persons and their goods; and whereas the Plaintiff the day and year aforesaid at Marlborough aforesaid had delivered to the Defendant one box in which were several goods and chattels of the Plaintiffs to be carried from Marlborough to the city of London, and safely to be delivered to the Plaintiff there, that the Defendant afterwards viz. Nov. 1, aforesaid took his journey towards London, and the 2nd of November performed his journey and came to London, but lost the goods to the value of £60, and lays it to her damage of £100. Upon not guilty pleaded, it came to the Salisbury Assizes before the then Mr. Justice Jones* where upon evidence the case appeared that the Plaintiff was a passenger in the Defendants coach, which is a stage coach, between London and Marlborough, and the goods carried with him; upon which I being of counsel with the Defendant, urged that this action lay not, for *that a common coachman is but a new invention*, and not within the common law or custom concerning common carriers.—*That this is not for the conveyance of goods but of persons*, and whatsoever goods of passengers are by them carried, are still in the passengers custody, and they remove them to their own chambers at nights in their Inns, and if this should hold where would it end. It might as well be brought for the rings on their fingers or money in their pockets, which Highwaymen rob the passengers of.

But the Judge was of opinion that if a coachman commonly carry goods and takes money for so doing, he will be in the same case with a common carrier, and is a carrier for that purpose, whether the goods are a passenger's or a stranger's. The like of a waterman or Gravesend Boat which carries both men and goods.

Then we were obliged to give evidence of our coach's being full, our refusal to carry them, that without our knowledge at first the Porter put up the box behind the coach, which when we perceived we denied to take the charge of it.

Which the Judge agreed to be a good answer, for if an hostler refuse a guest his house being full, and yet the party says he will shift, &c., if he be robbed the hostler is discharged."

In conclusion I will refer to the ancient punishments in Marlborough.

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* Sir Thomas Jones a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

I. *Hanging.*

In ancient times this was practised in Wiltshire on a much more extended scale than at present. Lord Chief Baron Comyns, who died in the year 1740, in his digest of the Laws of England, a work of high legal authority "Tit. Tumbrel," (A). says, "A man may have a pillory, tumbrel, furcas (gallows), by grant or prescription, which is ancient usage from which a lost grant is presumed."

In the 3rd year of Edward 1st (1275), commissions were issued by the king into the various counties of England directing the Commissioners to summon a Jury for each hundred who were to find on their oaths what private individuals *habent furcas*, and at or for what places they existed.[1]

From the presentments of these Juries I have prepared a List of these private hanging establishments in the County of Wilts, with the names of the Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen who had them, and no doubt exercised the right of using them, as in each instance the Jury find on their oaths that the individual *habet furcas* (*has* a gallows) and not merely that he or she claims the right of having one.

The following is a List of the places in the County of Wilts, at or for which there was a gallows in 1275, and the name of the Lord, Lady, or Gentleman who was the owner of it.

Extracted from the Hundred Rolls published by the Record Commissioners in the year 1818 (Vol. 2, p. 230, et seq:)

Place at or for which used.	Lord, Lady, or Gentleman, who was the owner.
Borough of Marlborough.	
For this Borough.	The Queen Dowager.
Hundred de Alwarbyr.	
Alwarbur.	John Giffard.
Hundred de Blakegrave.	
Netherstone.	Prior of St. Swithin Winton.
Elecumbe.	John Lovel.
Wotton.	Earl Marshal.
Alta Swindune.	Wm. de Valence.

[1] The Commissioners for Wiltshire were William de Braybeof (afterwards one of the Justices in Eyre) and William Gereberd.

Hundred de Cadeworth.	
Sutton.	Earl of Glocester.
Hundred de Calne.	
Calne.	The Bailiffs there.
Hundred de Caudon.	
Wychebur.	The Abbot of Reading
Bridford and Stratford.	W^m^ de S^t^ Omer.
Westharnham.	Alan Plantagenet.
[Place omitted.]	Hugo de Pleysis and John de Wotton.
Borough of Chippenham.	
Chippenham.	The Bailiffs there.
Hundred de Cnowel Epi.	
Knowel.	The Bishop of Winton.
Lib. Maner. de Deverel Longepont.	
For this Manor.	Abbot of Glaston.
Hundred de Warminster.	
For this Hundred.	Thomas Mawduit.
Hundred de Domerham.	
For this Hundred.	Abbot of Glaston.
Hundred de Dunton.	
For this Hundred.	Abbot of Winton.
Hundred de Elstub.	
For this Hundred.	The Prior of St. Swithin, Winton.
Hundred de Melksham.	
For this Hundred.	Abbess of Amesbury.
Manor of Normanton.	
For this Manor.	Roger la Choche and others.
Hundred de Remesburi.	
For this Hundred.	The Bishop of Salisbury.
City of Salisbury.	
For this City.	The Bishop of Salisbury.
Hundred de Selkele.	
Mildenhall.	James de Audebery.
Overton.	The Prior of Overton.
Monkton.	The Prior of Overton.
Hundred de Stapelee.	
Chellesworth.	Robert Hugo.
Purton.	The Abbot of Malmesbury.
Eton.	The Abbess of Godstow.
Hundred de Sterkelee.	
Malmesbury.	The Abbot of Malmesbury.
Staunton.*	The Earl of Glocester.

*This was a rival hanging establishment to the preceding; as the abbot is stated in the finding of the Malmesbury Jurors to have claimed the right of hanging throughout the entire Hundred.

Hundred de Swanborough.	
Uphavon.	Ela Countess of Warwick.
Manningford and Wifleford.	John de Bohun.
Awelton.	The Prior of Winton.
Wilcot.	The Prior of Braden-Stoke.
Hundred de Thorhull.	
Badbury	Abbot of Glaston.
Hinton, (Little).	Prior of Winton.
Wanborough.*	Stephen Longespee.†
Draycot, (Foliot),	Sampson Foliot.
Brom, (Broome q.).	The Prior of Marteny.
Hundred de Werminster,	
Werminster.	John Mauduit.
Corsley.	The Prioress of Studley.
Hundred de Whorwelsdown.	
For this Hundred.	The Abbess of Romsey.
Hundred de Westbury.	
For this Hundred.	Reginald de Pavely.
Hundred de Wonderdich.	
For this Hundred.	The Bishop of Salisbury.
Borough of Wilton.	The bailiff of the Earl of Cornwall there.‡

Down to the time of the Municipal Corporation Act in 1835, in many cities and towns, Recorders had the power of life and death; as by charter they were authorized to try all felonies whether capital or not, except murder; and down to that time the Recorders of Bristol and Oxford, and no doubt some others, could try murder. And in the year 1835 Mrs. Burdock was tried before Sir Charles Wetherall, as Recorder of Bristol, for the murder of her husband and was convicted and executed.

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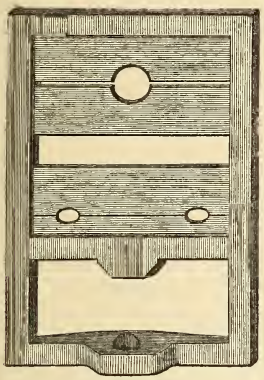
* I am told by the Rev. T. Etty, Vicar of Wanborough, that the junction of the four roads which lead from Aldbourn to Lower Wanborough, and from Little Hinton to Upper Wanborough is called *Callis Hill*, supposed to be a corruption of *Gallows Hill*.

† Justiciar of Ireland and brother of William Earl of Salisbury whose monument is in the nave of Salisbury Cathedral.

‡ It appears from the Placita de Quo Warranto [p. 795. et. seq.] that in 8 Edw. I. (1280) William de Giselham the King's Attorney General filed Quo Warranto informations against the abbot of Malmesbury, the abbot of Reading, William de Valence, Walter de Paveley, the Bishop of Salisbury, the abbot of Glastonbury, Sampson Foliot, calling on each respectively to show (inter alia) by what authority "habet furcas" [he has a gallows]. *Every one* of these defendants substantiated his right to this important privilege; some by the production of their charters when they pleaded to the informations, the others on trials. In some instances no Quo Warranto information was necessary as it was found by the Juries in their presentments that the franchise claimed had been granted to the owner of it by a Sovereign whom they named.

The Pillory.

The pillory at Marlborough was used as late as the year 1807. Several members of our society who were at the congress at Marlborough in September last, had seen a person in it in the year 1807,[1] and by the kindness of Mr. Kite I have been favored with two illustrations of it. The annexed woodcut represents the remaining portion, which is still preserved in the Town Hall. It is a wooden frame 4 feet 3 inches in height, by about 3 feet in width, containing four horizontal pannels, the central two of which, sliding upwards and downwards, enclosed the neck and wrists of the criminal in three holes pierced for the purpose, the larger one being about *six*, and the two smaller ones each *three* inches in diameter. The pillory must have been a very ancient punishment for perjury.



Remains of the Marlborough Pillory.

Sir Henry Spelman in his Glossary, Tit. *Healsfang*, states that this was the pillory and that it was by the laws of Canute the punishment of perjury, and for this he cites a MS. of the laws of that sovereign, Chap. 64., but in the "Collection of Anglo Saxon laws" edited by Dr. Wilkins in the reign of George the First and "the Ancient Laws and Institutes of England" published by the Record Commissioners in 1840, this law is not to be found by this reference, but in the latter work in the laws of King Canute (p. 17) the law cited by Sir H. Spelman is given in the original Anglo Saxon with this translation.

"Of false witness.

"37, And if any one stand openly in false witness and he be convicted, let not his witness but let him pay to the King or to the landrica [lord of the soil] according to his healsfang." [a kind of pillory].*

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[1] Another criminal underwent a similar sentence in the Market Place at Salisbury about the same date; and a third in the Market Place at Devizes, some few years earlier.

* These explanations are taken from the Glossary at the end of the work, and to the latter explanation the learned editor Mr. Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A., adds this note. "This is at least the original signification of the term, but which seems to have fallen into disuse at a very early period; no mention of it in that sense occurring in all these laws where it merely means a certain fine graduated according to the degree of the offender, and was probably the amount of mulct annexed to every class as a commutation for a degrading punishment. Healsfang may therefore be defined the 'sum every man sentenced to the pillory would have had to pay to save him from that punishment had it been in use.'"

Dr. Cowell in his Interpreter, Tit. *Healfang* or *Halsfang* [Collistrigium] says that it is compounded of two Saxon words *Hals* i.e. *Collum* and *Fang* i.e. *Captura*. But Healfang cannot signify a pillory in the charter of Canutus de Foresta, cap. 14, "et pro culpa solvat Regi decem solidos quos Dani vocant '*Halfe hange.*' Sometimes 'tis taken for a pecuniary punishment or mulct to commute for standing in the pillory, and is to be paid either to the King or the chief lord, viz. "Qui falsum testimonium dedit reddat Regi vel terræ Domini Halfeng" Leg. Hen. I. cap. 11.

The pillory is also mentioned in the Statutum de pistoribus which is of uncertain date, assigned by some to 51st Henry 3rd (1267) and by others to 13th Edward 1st (1285), and is printed by the Record Commissioners in the statutes of the Realm Vol 1. p. 203. By this statute it is ordained that

"Pilloria sive Collistrigium et tumbrellum continue habeantur debite fortitu-
"dinis ita quod delinquentes exequi judicium pidaum sine corporis periculo."

"Every Pillory or stretchneck and tumbrel must be made of convenient
"strength, so that the execution may be done upon offenders without peril of
"their bodies."

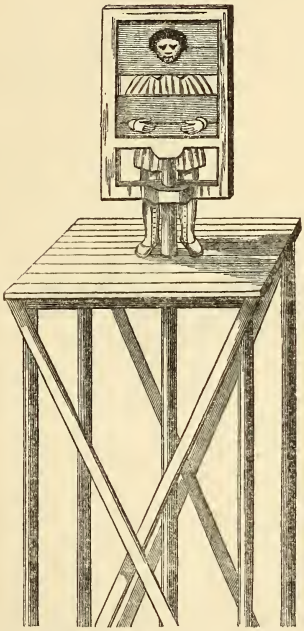
Mr. Serjt. Hawkins in his "Pleas of the Crown, bk. 2. chap. 11. p. 113, says that it seems that a court leet may be forfeited if the lord "neglects to provide a pillory and tumbrel, but it is said that a vill may be bound by prescription to provide a pillory and tumbrel and that every vill is bound of common right to provide a pair of stocks."

The pillory was abolished in all cases, except perjury and subornation thereof, in the year 1816, by the stat. 59 Geo. 3. chap. 138. and in all cases in the year 1837, by the stat. 7 Will. 4 and 1 Vict. chap. 23.

I saw the last man in the pillory who was ever in it in England: his name was Hague, he stood in the pillory for an hour in front of Newgate in the year 1821.

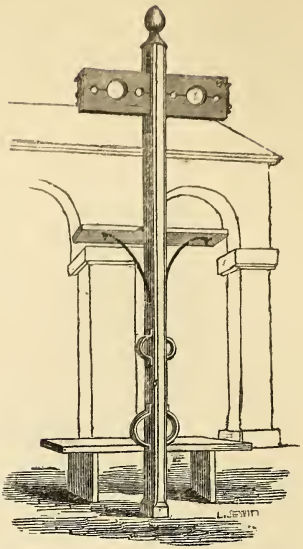
The second woodcut represents the Marlborough pillory as set up for use. The wooden frame shown at p. 19, is here elevated on a strong upright post about 15 feet in height, the lower end being firmly fixed in the ground, and a platform erected round it, at the height of about 12 feet, on which the criminal stands. His

head and hands being then firmly fastened into the frame, which turned on a swivel, he was left to escape as he best could the various kinds of missiles which were indiscriminately showered at him by the surrounding multitude.



About thirty years ago, I saw the stocks, the whipping post and the pillory, all one above the other, at Wallingford, fixed up close to the Town-Hall; there being a small platform, below the pillory and about 8 feet from the ground, for the pilloried patient to stand on. All this except the stocks, was taken away about twenty five years ago.

I am also informed by Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., that a similar machine still exists at Coleshill in the county of Warwick of which he has favored me with the annexed representation.



WHIPPING THE POOR.

At the Wilts Quarter Sessions at Devizes, on 25th April, 1598, the following order was made, which is entered at the end of the military muster book of that place: Sir John Popham being in the chair.

Wiltes. Order for punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds, &c., made at the Sessions holden at the Devizes the xxvth of April 1598 by S^{r} John Popham Knight with the full consent of all the Justics there assembled.

1. First y^{t} is ordered that evry pishe. before the vijth day of May next provide wth in yt self a meet & convenient howse or place and also an able man wth a hood and disguised garments and whippes to punishe as wel such Rogues as shall wander contrary to the statute as also suche psons as shall transgresse suche orders as are made or shall hereafter be made touching the statuts lately made for the relief of the poore & punishmt of Rogues & Vagabonds, w^{ch} howse or place so to be pvided shal be called a howse of correction.
2. Item that the statute made for the punishmt of Rogues be pclaymed in euy mkett towne wth in the county in the open mkett place duringe the tyme

of the mkett. before the vijth day of May next, and this to be done by order of the Justics wth in their sevall divisions.

3. Item y^{t} is also ordered that *euy inhabitant* wthin the pishe. or towne wthin the county *shall apphend euy* Rogue & *poore pson that shall come to his howse to aske relief* or that he shall fynd in any out houses and grounds *& them psently convey to the Constables, Tithingman or other Officer* of the same place upon payne to be bound for his good behav^{r}, *and yf the officer doo not psently cause the same poore pson* or Rogue *to be whipped untill his body be bloody* and then make a passport according to the statute, *that then euy suche officer shall forfeyt like wyse* x^{s} for evy Rogue he shall leave unpunished or unconveyed accordinge to the statute, the same to be levied by distresse and sale of his goods and converted to the relief of the poore of the same place.
4. Itm yf any of the poore that are relieved by the pshe where they dwell or any other shall steale their neighbo^{rs} wood, break hedges, mylke Kyne, or otherwise in their orchards, gardens, pastures, feilds, or corne grounds, shall any way annoye, trespas, or wrong them or any of them by whom they are relieved, or any other, upon just complaynt made by hym that is so annoyed to the Constable, Tithingman or Overseer, suche offendo^{rs} shal be punished by whippinge in the howse of correction in the same parshe.
5. Itm, yt is ordered & agreed that there be watch ward and privy search made through this county the 1. 2. 3. dayes of May next followinge both day & night, And all suche Rogues, wanderers and suspected psons as shal be found in any of the said watches & searches, shal be punished accordinge to the statute, & after punishmt to be conveyed to the place where they were borne, or dwelt last by the space of one yeare, if their place of birth be not knowen.

By full consent.

It appears from the Corporation books that in 1599 John Welchman enjoyed the delectable office of whipping the poor, and that in 1602, the Corporation expended 5s. 8d. for four yards of gray frize for his coat.[1] This official, in the reigns of the Stuarts,

[1] In Notes and Queries [2nd S. viii. p. 494] is the following extract from the churchwardens account book at Bray which commences in 1602.

"*Money laid out by the Constables, anno* 1620.

	s.	d.
Imprms. for mendinge, of the locke-house and makinge it cleane.....	v.	ij.
Ite. laide out by the Justices prepte [precept] for a whipinge poste	iij.	ij.
Ite. layde out to discharge a prepte for the Kinge Mat^{ies} hownde, of iiij qu^{a}rter of oate, viij trusse of haye, xij strusse of strawe, the 30 of June.	xv.	viij.
Ite. layde out to discharge a prepte for the Prince's hownde, the 8th of Sept$^{b.}$ 1620, two qu^{a}rters of oate.	viij.	vj.

was, at Newbury, Ogbourne St. George[1] and other places, known by the name of the Dog-rapper, as he was paid 4s. a year to beat the dogs out of the church.

In the Parishes of Claverley, in Shropshire, and Trysall, Staffordshire, the dog-rapper combined with that office the office of Awakener, as in the former Parish Mr. Richard Dovey, of Farmcote, by feoffment dated 23rd August, 1659, gave "a house and land situate at Claverley and Alveley, to John Sanders and others, their heirs and assigns in trust [inter alia] to pay yearly the sum of 8s. to a poor man of the said Parish who should undertake to awaken the sleepers, and to whip the dogs from the church of Claverley, during Divine service,"[2] and in the latter Parish, Mr. John Rudge, by his will dated 17th April, charged his lands at Seisdon, with "an annuity of 20s. a year payable at 5s. a quarter, to a poor man to go about the Parish Church of Trysull during Sermon, to keep the people awake, and to keep the dogs out of the Church."

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	s.	d.
Ite. laide out vpon the rogues when they weare had before Justices in bread and drinke.....		xj.
Ite. for havinge the rogues to the howse of correction.....	v.	iiij.
Ite. to William Markam the tythinge man for goinge w^th^ the rogues at that time to Readinge	ij.	
Ite. for makinge of a whipinge coate and hoode		viij.
Ite. for an elle of canvas to that coate ..		vj.

The coate w^ch^ was for him that did whipp the rouges [*sic*] is now delivered this v^th^ d. of May 1622 to Thomas Wynch by Richard Martine."

Our Editor, Canon Jackson, informs me that among the old Records of the Borough of Chippenham, there is in the "account of Wm. Gale's Baylywicke, A.D. 1598" the following entry.

	s.	d.
Ite. For canvass iiij ells to make good a shirt and a whipp	4	
For whipping rougs [*sic*] and making the shirt.....		6

[1] See *ante*, Vol. I. p. 89.

[2] Char. Com. Rep. iv. 248.

Upon this latter case the Charity Commissioners report that the present owner of the land is Cornelius Cartwright, Esq., and that this annuity is duly paid to a poor man for awaking sleepers in Church, and keeping out dogs.[1]

Therefore, let any Lady or Gentleman, who is prone to sleep, avoid attending Divine Service at Trysull Church, in the county of Stafford.

The Cucking Stool.

There is no doubt that the legal punishment of Common Scolds by the laws of England, always has been and still is, that they be placed in the Cucking Stool, and immersed in the pond or stream. At present the Cucking Stool is only the legal punishment for Scolds, though anciently and as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor it was the punishment of fraudulent brewers.

In the Doomsday Survey under Chester (page 262 of the printed copies of that work) is the following entry:—

"T. R. E. Vir sive mulier falsam mesuram in Civitate faciens deprehensus iiij solidos emendabat, similiter malam cervisiam faciens aut in Cathedra ponebatur stercoris aut iiij^{or} solidos dabat prepositis."

Which may be thus translated.—In the time of King Edward, a man or woman found making false measure in the city was fined 4s., likewise one making bad beer was either put in the chair of muck, or gave 4s. to the Reeves.

By the Statute de pistoribus it is provided that brewers "Qui assisam cervisie fregerint primo, secundo, et tercio, amercientur: quarto, sine redempcione subeant judicium tumbrelli."

"Brewers who break the assize the first, second, and third time, shall be amerced: but the fourth time they shall undergo without redemption, the judgment of the tumbrel."

Lord Chief Baron Comyns in his digest at the place before cited, says, "the tumbrel *or* tre-bucket is an instrument for the punishment of women that scold or are unquiet, now called a Cucking Stool."

It is worthy of remark that Lord Chief Baron Comyns mentions the tumbrel or the tre-bucket* as being a Cucking Stool.

The tumbrel was an oak chair fixed on a pair of wheels with very long shafts. The person seated was wheeled into the pond backwards, and the shafts being tilted up, she was of course plunged

[1] Id. v. 634.

* An ammunition waggon used in the war which ended in 1814, was called a Tumbril. And an implement of war for throwing stones into besieged towns, a Tre-buchet. Grose's Mil. Antiq. I. 382.

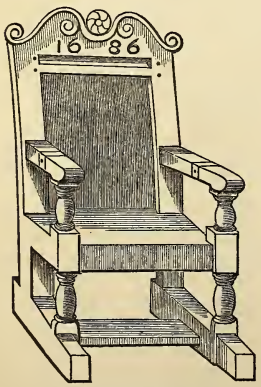
into the water. And the machine was recovered again by means of long ropes attached to the shafts.

The tre-bucket was a chair at the end of a beam which acted on the see saw principle on a stump put into the ground at the edge of the water.

Cucking Stools of the Tre-buchet kind must have been common in the last century, as my late friends Mr. Curwood, the eminent Barrister, and Mr. Bellamy, who was clerk of assize on the Oxford Circuit, and went the Circuit for 60 years, both remembered them on the village greens about the country, in a more or less perfect state as the stocks are now. And Mr. Neild, the celebrated writer on Prisons, in a note to a letter in the Gent. Mag. 1803, p. 1104, says, that one of the Cucking Stools of this kind existed in the Reservoir of the Green Park in the memory of persons then living.

In the first number of the Society's Magazine, there is a lithograph of the Tumbrel Cucking Stool at Wootton Basset. The drawing is accurate in all respects except the date, which should be 1686 instead of 1668.

My friend Mrs. Hains of that place saw it about 60 years ago, when it was in a perfect state, chair, wheels and shafts; but the shafts were in so worm-eaten a state, that they did not appear likely to bear their own weight much longer; and when I saw it about 25 years ago, there only remained the chair and the wheels, which were about the size of the fore wheels of a waggon. The Chair in a very good state of preservation, was lent by the Corporation of Wootton Basset to the Society, for the Temporary Museum at Marlborough, accompanied by a note from Mr. Walter Pratt, who stated that "some school boys unfortunately had more respect for animal comfort than antiquity, for they were caught in the very act of burning the wheels, and the chair would have followed but for the school-

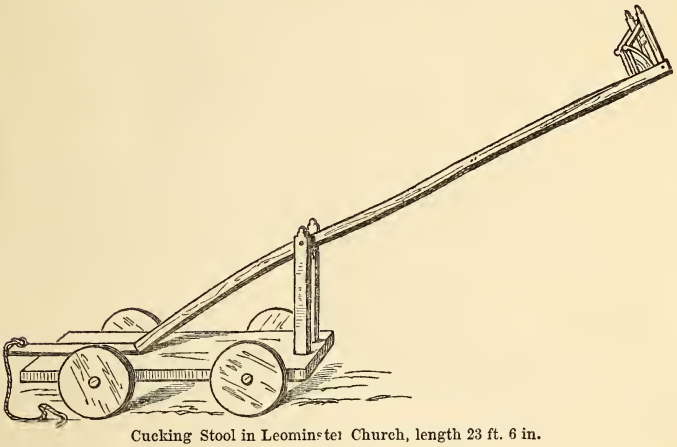


Remains of the Cucking Stool at Wootton Basset, Sep. 1859.

master coming upon the young Vandals." And I did not more particularly inquire as to what occurred afterwards.

There is also in the same volume, a lithograph of a Cucking Stool at Broadwater, near Worthing, from a drawing by the late Mr. Curwood, who remembered it as there represented, except that he did not see any one in it.

There is also in the unused aisle of Leominster Church, a Cucking Stool still remaining in a perfect state.[1]



Cucking Stool in Leominster Church, length 23 ft. 6 in.

It is neither the usual tumbrel nor the tre-buchet, but partakes of both; it is moveable and on four wheels. The Chair is at the head of a beam and worked on the see-saw principle: and I was told by Mr. Dickens, the Registrar of Births and Deaths, that he recollected a woman called Jenny Pipes, but whose real name was Crump, who was ducked at Leominster in the year 1809, and who died at a very advanced age. And he recollected Sarah Leeke being placed in this Chair and wheeled round the town,[2] about the

[1] At Devizes the parish tumbrel, when not in use, seems to have been deposited within the lower stage of St. Mary's Church tower, as appears from an Inventory of A.D. 1678, printed in "Wilts Mag." II. 324. The tower of Ramsbury Church still affords a similar shelter to the Fire engine.

[2] The culprit when adjudged to be placed in the cucking stool does not appear to have been invariably plunged into the water. The Devizes Corporation books, circa 1585, contain a case in which Edith the wife of William Martin

year 1817, but she could not be ducked as the water was too low. Mr. Dickens also stated that the persons ducked were immersed at three different parts of the town, twice in the river Lug, and once in a pond; and that when the machine was wheeled through the town, the woman in the Chair at the end of the beam was nearly as high as the first floor window of the houses.

I have been told that the tomb of the person called Jenny Pipes, is near the west door of Leominster Church. And I am also informed by Mr. Bernhard Smith, that the Chair of a Cucking Stool is in the Museum at Scarborough; by Mr. Hawks that a Cucking Stool still remains in St. Mary's Church, at Warwick; and by Mr. Pollard, that another still exists in the Town-Hall of Ipswich.

That there was a convicted Scold at Newbury in the polite reign of Charles II. is evidenced by the following entries in the Quarter Sessions Book of that place of which I am favored with copies by Mr. Vines, clerk of the peace.

"Sessions 19 July 24 Car. 2. } Burgus de Newbury.

It. We present the Widdow Adames for a Common Scould.

Ordered to appear at the next Sessions, being served with processe for that purpose.

27 January 24 Car. 2. } Margarett Adames, Widow, hath appeared and pleaded not guilty to her indictment for a common Scold and put herself on the Jury, who being sworne, say she is guilty of the indictment against her.

Cur. That she is to be ducked in the Cucking Stool according as the Mayor shall think the time fitting."

In Shropshire, scolds existed till a later period, as I was told by the late Mr. George Morris the eminent genealogist and antiquary of that county, that his father saw a woman ducked at Whitchurch in the year 1777, and that he himself saw a woman branked at Shrewsbury in 1807.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there was a Cucking Stool at

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having uttered unseemly language against Elizabeth the wife of John Webb, the latter complains to the Mayor, who on the offence being proved by three additional witnesses, orders that the culprit shall *ride in the cucking stool from the Guildhall to the dwelling house of her husband*, the said William Martin, *and the cucking stool shall stand at her door.*

Marlborough. It seems to have been a fixed tre-buchet, and I am told by Mr. T. Baverstock Merriman that according to tradition, it was placed at the edge of the stream near the south front of the Master's lodge at Marlborough College. This Cucking Stool must have been in pretty frequent use as it appears from the Corporation accounts, that it was repaired in 1580: repaired again in 1582, and in 1584, they were obliged to have a new one.

There appears to have been a Cucking Stool at Salisbury as late as 1750. It is shown on Naish's plan of the city, published by Collins, and dedicated to the then Bishop [John Gilbert]. Its situation, together with that of the Cage, was on the Canal near the western extremity of Milford Street, towards the New Canal.

The Cucking Stool appears to have been used as a punishment in some of the Colonies. My friend Mr. Duncan Stewart, of the Chancery Bar, saw a black woman ducked in the sea for theft by a Cucking Stool on the see-saw principle at Bermuda, about thirty years ago.

The Brank, or Scolds' Bridle.

This instrument, used for the punishment of scolds, of which a specimen, now in my possession, was exhibited at the Meeting of the Society at Marlborough, appears to have been in use in this country from the time of the Commonwealth to the reign of King William the Third.

As far as I am aware, it never was a legal punishment; indeed in the year 1655, Mr. Gardiner, in his work hereafter cited, complains of it as illegal and improper. The punishment for scolds was, and is still, by the laws of England, the Cucking-stool, and I have not found the word "Brank," in any dictionary.

I know of the existence of branks in several places, and no doubt there are other examples; the punishment, must therefore, have been quite a common one.

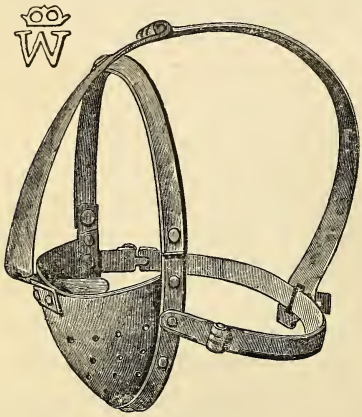
There was, in the year 1655, a brank at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and it possibly exists there still. Dr. Plot mentions branks at Newcastle under-Lyme and at Walsall, in the reign of King James II.

These, however, are a little different in form from that at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

There is a brank in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford; and another in the Police Office at Shrewsbury. The branks at Oxford and Shrewsbury are both similar to that figured by Dr. Plot; except that each of them had only one staple, and not different staples to suit persons of different sizes.

A brank, from Lichfield, was formerly shown at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, and I am told that another exists at the Church of Walton-on-Thames;[1] and Mr. Noake, in his "Worcester in the Olden Time," gives an entry in the Corporation books of that city, relating to the repair of this species of instrument, under the date of 1658.

The brank in my possession is of the reign of William III., if a stamp of the letter W, crowned, may be considered as denoting that date. Of this brank I can give no account. The person from whom I had it knew nothing of its history, not even for what purpose it was intended.



Brank in the possession of Mr. F. A. Carrington.

I was told by the Venerable Archdeacon Hale, that, in addition to cucking-stools and branks, the scolds of former days had the terrors of the ecclesiastical courts before their eyes, and that the ecclesiastical records of the diocese of London contained many entries respecting scolds; and it is stated

[1] I am informed by Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., that there are excellent examples of branks at Stockport, at Altrincham, at Congleton, one formerly at Carrington (now at Warrington) and also four specimens at Chester, all of which have been figured by Mr. Brushfield, and that a curious allusion is made to the mode of using branks (with a quaint woodcut) in the "Memoirs of the first forty five years of the life of James Lackington" 1795.

by Mr. Noake, in his "Notes and Queries for Worcestershire,"[1] that "in 1614, Margaret wife of John Bache, of Chaddesley, was prosecuted at the sessions as a 'comon skould, and a sower of strife amongste her neyghboures, and hath bynn presented for a skoulde at the leete houlden for the manour of Chadsley, and for misbehavying her tonge towards her mother-in-law at a visytacon at Bromsgrove, and was excommunicated therefore.' "

"In 1617, Elinor Nichols was presented as 'a great scold and and mischief-maker,' who is said to have been excommunicated, and had never applied to make her peace with the Church."

Mr. Brand in his "History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne." says,—"In the time of the Commonwealth, it appears that the magistrates of Newcastle-upon-Tyne punished scolds with the branks, and drunkards by making them carry a tub, called the Drunkard's Cloak, through the streets of that town. We shall presume that there is no longer any occasion for the former; but why has the latter been laid aside?"[2]

"A pair of branks are still preserved in the Town-court of Newcastle. See an account of them, with a plate, in Plot's 'Staffordsbire.' Vide Gardiner's 'English Grievance of the Coal-trade.' The representation in this work is a fac-simile from his."[3]

Gardiner's book was published in 1655,[4] and commences with an Epistle dedicatory to "His Highness Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.," in which

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[1] P. 106. This is an admirable little work. It contains much information, in a cheap and popular form, and is in effect 326 pages of addenda to "Brand's Popular Antiquities."

[2] For representations of both, see the plate of "Miscellaneous Antiquities," No. 2 and 3, "Brand's History of Newcastle," vol. ii., p. 47.

[3] "History of Newcastle," vol. ii., p. 192. The representation is not very accurate as regards the dress.

[4] In Mr. Hargrave's copy of this work, now in the British Museum, is the following note, written by that learned gentleman:—"19th May, 1783. This book is extremely scarce. This copy of it, though without the map mentioned in the title, was sold at the sale of Mr. Gulston's books for one guinea, to Mr. King, bookseller in Lower Moor Fields. I bought it of Mr. King, and paid him one guinea and a half for it.—F. Hargrave."

the writer states several public grievances, and makes ten suggestions for their remedy; the tenth suggestion being as follows:—

"X. And that a law be created for death to such as shall commit perjury, forgery, or accept of bribery."

Against this some one has written in the margin of the British Museum copy—"The author suffer'd death for forging of guineas:"[1] the handwriting of this piece of interesting information being apparently of the reign of Queen Anne or George 1.

At p. 110 the following Deposition occurs, to which is prefixed the well-known engraving, which has been frequently copied, representing a female wearing the branks.

"(A.) *Iohn Willis* of *Ipswich*, upon his oath said, that he, this Deponent, was in *Newcastle* six months ago, and there he saw one Ann Bidlestone drove through the streets by an officer of the same corporation holding a rope in his hand, the other end fastened to an engine called the Branks, which is like a Crown, it being of Iron, which was musled over the head and face, with a great gap or tongue of Iron forced into her mouth, which forced the blood out. And that is the punishment which the Magistrates do inflict upon chiding and scoulding women, and that he hath often seen the like done to others.

"(B.) He, this Deponent, further affirms that he hath seen men drove up and down the streets with a great Tub or Barrel opened in the sides, with a hole in one end to put through their heads and so cover their shoulders and bodies down to the small of their legs, and then close the same, called the new-fashioned Cloak, and so make them wear it to the view of all beholders, and this is their punishment for drunkards and the like.

"(.C) This deponent further testifies that the Merchants and Shoemakers of the said Corporation will not take any apprentice under ten years' servitude, and knoweth many bound for the same terme,, and cannot obtain freedom without." 5 *Eliz.* 4.

"(D.) Drunkards are to pay a fine of five shillings to the poor, to be paid within one week, or be set in the Stocks six hours; for the second offence to be bound to the Good Behaviour. I. K. *James*, 9, 21, 7.

"(E.) Scoulds are to be Duckt over head and ears into the water in a Ducking-stool.

"(F.) And Apprentices are to serve but seven years. 5*Eliz.* 4."

Dr. Plot, in his "Natural History of Staffordshire," chap. ix., s. 97, says—"We come to the *Arts* that respect *Mankind*, amongst which, as elsewhere, the civility of precedence must be allowed to the *women*, and that as well in punishments as favours. For the

[1] Counterfeiting gold or silver coin was a capital offence in the reign of Charles II., but no forgery of any document was so till the reign of George I.

former whereof, they have such a peculiar *artifice* at *New-Castle* [under Lyme] and *Walsall*, for correcting of *scolds*, which it does too so effectually, and so very safely, that I look upon it as much to be preferred to the *Cucking-stoole*, which not only endangers the *health* of the *party*, but also gives the *tongue* liberty 'twixt every dipp; to neither of which is this at all lyable; it being such a *bridle* for the *tongue*, as not only quite deprives them of *speech*, but brings shame for the transgression, and humility thereupon, before 'tis taken off. Which being an *instrument* scarce heard of, much less seen, I have here presented it to the reader's view, tab. 32, fig. 9, as it was taken from the original one, made of *iron*, at *New-Castle* under *Lyme*, wherein the letter *a* shows the joynted collar that comes round the neck; *b*, *c*, the *loops* and *staples* to let it out and in, according to the bigness and slenderness of the *neck*; *d*, the joynted semicircle that comes over the *head*, made forked at one end to let through the *nose*; and *e*, the *plate* of *iron* that is put into the *mouth*, and keeps down the *tongue*. Which, being put upon the *offender* by order of the *magistrate*, and fastened with a *padlock* behind, she is lead through the towne by an *officer* to her shame, nor is it taken off, till after the party begins to show all external signes imaginable of humiliation and amendment."

Dr. Plot was keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and professor of chemistry in that University; this work was printed at Oxford in 1686, and dedicated to King James II.

Mr Noake, in his "Worcester in the Olden Time,"[1] gives the following entry from the Corporation books of that city.

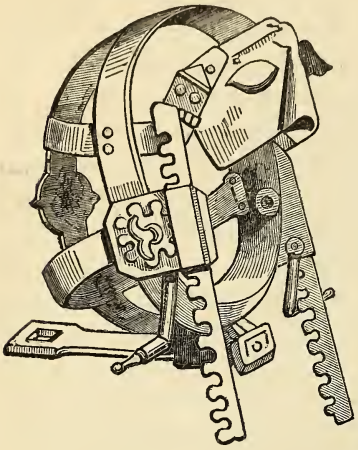
"1658. Paid for mending the bridle for bridleinge of scoulds, and two cords for the same. js. ijd."

Dr. Ormerod, in his History of Cheshire,[2] after mentioning that a Cucking stool was in existence at Macclesfield in the last century, adds, "and *there* is also yet preserved an iron Brank or Bridle for scolds, which has been used within the memory of the author's informant, Mr. Browne—and which is mentioned as "a brydle for a curste quean," among the articles delivered by the serjeant to

[1] P. 110.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 385 n. Published in 1819.

Sir Urian Leigh, Knt., on his being elected mayor, Oct. 3, 21 Jac. 1. An iron bridle was used at Bolton-le-moors, Lancashire, a few years ago, as a punishment for prostitutes. The Bridle was fixed in their mouths, and tied at the back of the head with ribbons, and so attired, they were paraded from the cross to the church steps and back again by the beadles."



In some instances the Branks appear to have degenerated into instruments of torture. By the kindness of Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, I have been favored with a drawing of a horrible engine, preserved in the museum at Ludlow.

Of this Mr. Bernhard Smith gives the following acccount :—

"I think you will find these iron head pieces to belong to a class of engines of far more formidable character than the branks. Their powerful screwing apparatus seems calculated to force the iron mask with torturing effect on the brow of the victim. There are no eye holes, but concavities in their places, as though to allow for the starting of the eye balls under violent pressure. There is a strong bar with a square hole evidently intended to fasten the criminal against a wall, or perhaps to the pillory, for I have heard it said that these instruments were used to keep the head steady during the infliction of branding."

"Another cruel engine in the Ludlow Museum appears to have been intended to dislocate the arm, and to cramp or crush the fingers at the same time. It is so much mutilated as to render its mode of application very difficult to make out."

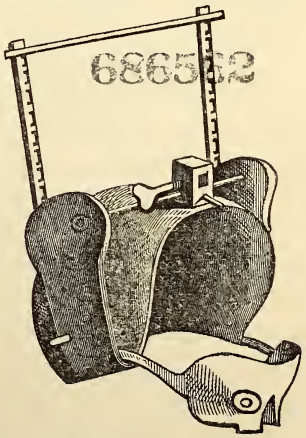
Mr. Noake in his "Worcester in the Olden Time," gives a description and a woodcut of a Torture Helmet now in the Town-Hall in that city, which very much resembles the Torture Helmet in the Ludlow Museum.

In addition to their extensive use in England, they were of frequent occurrence in Scotland; and I was told by our eminent antiquarian friend the late Mr. J. M. Kemble, that he had seen branks at various Town-Halls in Germany.

In the year 1856, a paper appeared in the Archæological Journal from the pen of one of our best and most accurate antiquaries Mr. Albert Way, on the subject of branks.

The valuable and interesting information contained in it is to be found no where else, and I have his kind permission to avail myself of it for the benefit of our Society; and the Committee of the Archæological Institute have also favored me with the loan of their wood blocks to illustrate my paper.

Mr. Noake adds—"A curious instrument of punishment, probably used for a similar purpose, may still be seen hung up with some armour in the Worcester Guildhall. The following is from a sketch taken by me a few months ago. The head was inserted in this helmet, and the visor, which is here represented as hanging down, being connected with the toothed uprights, was drawn up and down by means of a key winding up the end of the rod which passes immediately across the top of the helmet, and which rod is furnished with cogs at the end, to fit into the teeth of the uprights. The visor was thus drawn up so as to completely darken the eyes and cover the nose. The little square box with a hole, to which a screw is affixed at the side, was probably intended to receive the end of a pole fixed in a wall, from which the patient was thus made to stand out, though certainly not 'in relief.'



"These instruments [branks], as well as cucking-stools, were in use in nearly all towns. The present specimen is probably *temp.* Henry VII."

In the museum at Ludlow, according to information for which I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, another example is preserved of an iron cap, probably for branding offenders, much resembling that at Worcester, but perhaps more complicated. It is furnished with a similar rack and side wheels for compression.

Mr. Albert Way in his "Additional Notices of the brank, or scold's-bridle," says, "the origin of this grotesque implement of punishment, as also the period of its earliest use in Great Britain, remain in considerable obscurity. No example of the Scold's-Bridle has been noticed of greater antiquity than that preserved in the church of Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, which bears the date 1633, with the distich,—

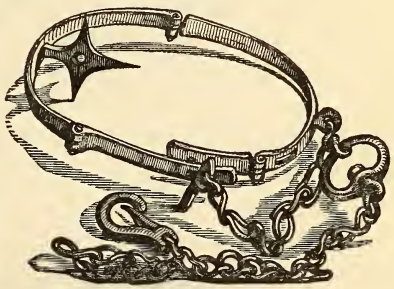
CHESTER presents WALTON with a Bridle,
To curb Women's Tongues that talk to Idle.

Tradition alleges that it was given for the use of that parish by a neighbouring gentleman who lost an estate, through the indiscreet babbling of a mischievous woman to the kinsman from whom he had considerable expectations.[1] Some have conjectured, from the occurrence of several examples of the Branks in the Palatinate, one more especially being still kept in the Jail at Chester, that this implement of discipline "for a curste queane," had been actually presented by the city of Chester; it may however seem probable that the name of an individual is implied, and not that of a city so remote from Walton. Another dated example is in the possession of Sir John Walsham, Bart., of Bury St. Edmunds; it was found in Old Chesterfield Poor-house, Derbyshire, where it is supposed to have been used, and it was given to Lady Walsham by Mr. Weale, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. This Brank has an iron chain attached to it with a ring at the end; it bears the date and the initials—1688, T. C. It was produced at a meeting of the West Suffolk Archæological Institute, according to information for which I am indebted to the secretary of that Society, Mr. Tymms, the historian of Bury.

It is probable that at a more remote period the inconvenience attending the use of so cumbrous an apparatus as the cucking-stool —the proper and legal engine of punishment for female offenders, whether for indecent brawling or for brewing bad beer,—may have led to the substitution of some more convenient and not less disgraceful penalty. In some parishes in the West country, cages

[1] Brayley's Hist. of Surrey, vol. ii. p. 331, where a representation of the 'Gossip's Bridle" is given.

were provided for scolds; and the ancient Custumal of Sandwich ordained that any woman guilty of brawling should carry a large mortar round the town with a piper or minstrel preceding her, and pay the piper a penny for his pains. This practice was established prior to the year 1518, and a representation of the mortar may be seen in Boys' History of Sandwich.[1] The suggestion of Mr. Fairholt, in his notice of a grotesque iron mask of punishment obtained in the Castle of Nuremberg, that the Branks originated in certain barbarous implements of torture of that description, seems well deserving of consideration. The example which he has described and figured in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. vii. p. 61, is now in Lord Londesborough's collection at Grimston Park; it is a frame of iron made to fit the head like the scolds'-bridle; it was attached by a collar under the chin, and has a pair of grotesque spectacles and ass's ears. There are other examples in various collections; one of wood, in the Goodrich Court Armory, was assigned by the late Sir S. Meyrick to the times of Henry VIII.

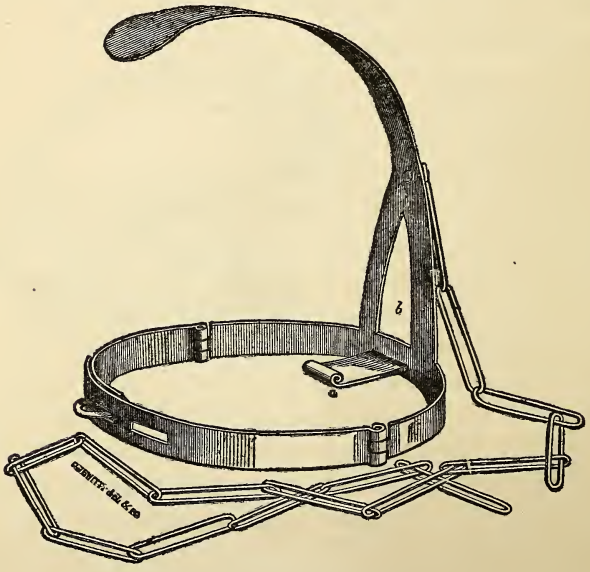


The Witch's Bridle, Forfar.

The fashion and construction of the brank varies considerably, and a few specimens may deserve particular notice. The most simple form consisted of a single hoop which passed round the head, opening by means of hinges at the sides, and closed by a staple with a padlock at the back: a plate within the hoop projecting inwards pressed upon the tongue, and formed an effectual gag. I am indebted to the late Colonel Jarvis, of Doddington, Lincolnshire, for a sketch of this simple kind of bridle, and he informed me that an object of similar

[1] I was informed by Mr. Alchin the Librarian to the city of London, that in the Journals of that Corporation of the reign of Henry VIII. [Jour. 8 H. 8. 9]. there is an entry that eight scolds were brought under the Pillory in Cheapside preceded by Minstrels. Has the saying as to "paying the piper" any reference to any matter of this kind?" F. A. C.

construction had been in use amongst the Spaniards in the West Indies for the punishment of refractory slaves. The "Witchs' Branks, or Bridle," preserved some years since in the steeple at Forfar, North Britain, is of this form, but in place of a flat plate, a sharply-pointed gag, furnished with three spikes, entering the mouth, gives to this example a fearfully savage aspect. The date, 1661, is punched upon the hoop. In the old statistical account of the parish of Forfar, it is described as the bridle with which victims condemned for witchcraft were led to execution.[1] The facility, however, with which the single hoop might be slipped off the head, led to the addition of a curved band of iron passing over the forehead, with an aperture for the nose, and so formed as to clip the crown of the head, rendering escape from the bridle scarcely practicable. Of this variety the specimen preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford supplies an example. (See Woodcut).

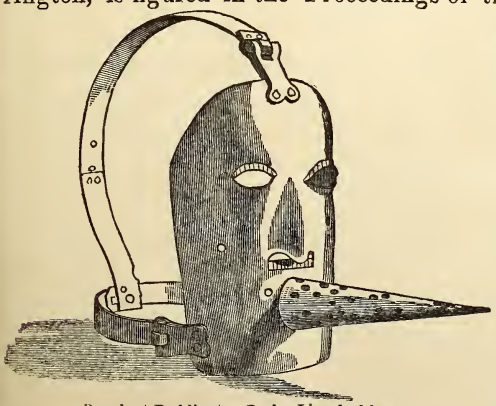


Brank in the Ashmolean Museum.

[1] This relique of cruelty has been carried away from Forfar, and it was in the collection of the late Mr. Deuchar of Edinburgh. See Dr. Wilson's 'Prehistoric Annals,' p. 693, and Sir J. Dalyell's 'Darker Superstitions of Scotland,' p. 636.

It is not stated in the catalogue of that collection, by whom it was presented, or where it was previously used; it is described as "a Gag, or Brank, formerly used with the ducking-stool, as a punishment for scolds."[1] In this instance, it will be observed that the chain by which the offender was led is attached in front, immediately over the nose, instead of the back of the head, the more usual adjustment of the leading chain. For greater security, the transverse band was in other examples prolonged, and attached to the collar by a hinge or staple, as shown by the brank figured in Plot's Staffordshire, and those existing at Macclesfield, Newcastle under Lyme, and Walton on Thames. A very grotesque variety was exhibited by the late Colonel Jarvis, of Doddington Park, Lincolnshire, in the Museum formed during the meeting of the Institute at Lincoln. It has an iron mask entirely covering the face, with apertures for the eyes and nostrils, the plate being hammered out to fit the nose, and a long conical peak affixed before the mouth, bearing some resemblance to the peculiar long-snouted visor of the bascinets occasionally worn in the time of Richard II. (See Woodcut). No account of the previous history of this singular object could be obtained.

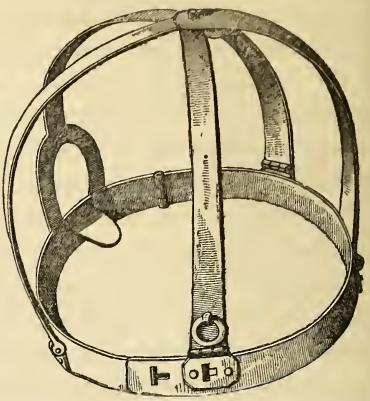
A brank, actually in the possession of Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, is figured in the Proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, session ii. p. 25, plate 5. A cross is affixed to the band which passed over the head, and a curved piece on either side clipped the crown of the head, and kept the brank more firmly in position. In other examples we find in



Brank at Doddington Park, Lincolnshire.

[1] Catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum, Miscellaneous Curiosities, No. 517, p. 148.

place of these recurved appendages, two bands of iron plate, crossing each other at right angles on the crown of the head, their extremities being riveted to the horizontal hoop or collar. In that preserved at the Guildhall, Lichfield, and exhibited by kind permission of the mayor at one of the meetings of the Institute, a more complete frame-work or skeleton head piece is formed by five pieces of iron hoop, which meet on the crown of the head, where they are conjoined by a single rivet.[1] (See Woodcut). Lastly, a more complicated arrangement is shown in the brank preserved at Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire, in the ancient manor-house in the possession of Lord Leigh, described in Shaw's History of that county. It bears resemblance to a lantern of conical form, presenting in front a grotesque mask pierced for eyes, nose, and mouth, and opening with a door behind. The construction of this singular engine of punishment is sufficiently shown by the accompanying Woodcuts, prepared from drawings, for which we are indebted to Mr. Jewitt.



Brank belonging to the Town Council, Lichfield.

There was a brank at Beaudesert, Staffordshire, as also at Walsall, and at Holme, Lancashire. There was one in the town-hall at Leicester, now in private hands in that town. That which is recorded in 1623 as existing at Macclesfield, and is still seen in the town-hall,[2] had been actually used, as I was assured by a friendly correspondent, within the memory of an aged official of the municipal authorities in that town. The hideous "brydle for a curste queane" remains suspended, with an iron straight-waist-

[1] It is believed that this is the same which Shaw mentions as formerly in Greene's Museum at Lichfield.

[2] This is the Brank mentioned by Ormerod, alluded to above, p. 33. The ducking-pool also, with the tumbrel post, remained at Macclesfield in the last century. Hist. of Cheshire, vol. iii., p. 385.

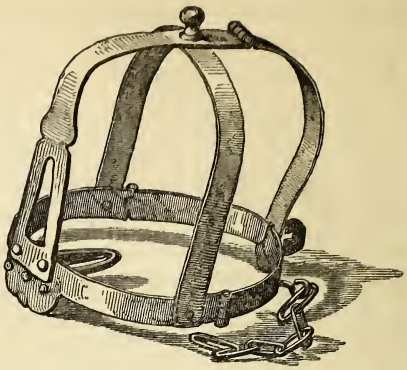
coat, hand-cuffs and bilboes, and other obsolete appliances of discipline. To the same curious observer of olden usages I owe the fact, that within comparatively recent memory the brank was used for punishing disorderly females at Manchester. Mr. Greene, in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries in 1849, accompanying the exhibition of the branks from Lichfield and Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire, advanced the supposition that the punishment of the scold's-bridle had been peculiar to that county ;[1] its use was, however, even more frequent in the Palatinate, as also in the northern counties and in Scotland. Pennant, in his Northern Tour in 1772, records its use at Langholm, in Dumfriesshire, where the local magistrates had it always in readiness; it had been actually used a month previous to his visit, till the blood gushed from the mouth of the victim.[2] Several other examples of the brank have been noticed in North Britain; it is indeed mentioned, with the jougs, by Dr. Wilson, in his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," as a Scottish instrument of ecclesiastical punishment, for the coercion of scolds and slanderous gossips. The use of such bridles for unruly tongues occurs in the Burgh Records of Glasgow, as early as 1574, when two quarrelsome females were bound to keep the peace, or on further offending —"to be brankit." In the records of the Kirk Session, Stirling, for 1600, "the brankes" are mentioned as the punishment for a shrew. In St. Mary's Church, at St. Andrews, a memorable specimen still exists, displayed for the edification of all zealous Presbyterians, on a table in the elders' pew. It is known as the "Bishop's Branks," but whether so styled from the alleged use of such torment by Cardinal Beaton, in the sufferings of Patrick Hamilton and other Scottish martyrs who perished at the stake in the times of James V., or rather, in much later times, by Archbishop Sharp, to silence the scandal which an unruly dame promulgated against him before the congregation, popular tradition seems to be unable to determine[3]. A representation of the "Bishop's

[1] Proceedings of Soc. Ant., vol. ii., p. 8.

[2] Tour in Scotland, vol. ii., p. 91.

[3] The incident is related in the Life of Archbishop Sharp. See also Howie's Judgment on Persecutors, p. 30, Biographia Scoticana, as cited by Jamieson. *v.* Branks.

Branks" is given in the Abbotsford edition of "The Monastery," where it is noticed. It precisely resembles the specimen found in 1848 behind the oak panelling, in the ancient mansion of the Earls of Moray, in the Canongate, Edinburgh. Of this, through the kindness of Mr. Constable, I am enabled to offer the accompanying representation.



Brank found in Moray House, Edinburgh.

In the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland another specimen may be seen, thus described by Dr. Wilson in the Synopsis of that collection.—"The branks, an ancient Scottish instrument. Its most frequent and effectual application was as a corrector of incorrigible scolds.—Presented by J. M. Brown, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. 1848."

The term brank is found in old Scottish writers in a more general sense, denoting a kind of bridle. Jamieson gives the verb, to Brank, to bridle, to restrain; and he states that Branks, explained by Lord Hales as signifying the collars of work-horses, "properly denotes a sort of bridle, often used by the country people in riding. Instead of leather, it has on each side a piece of wood joined to a halter, to which a bit is sometimes added; but more frequently a kind of wooden noose resembling a muzzle. Anciently, this seems to have been the common word for a bridle" (in the North of Scotland).[1] In regard to the etymology of the word, Jamieson observes, "Gael. *brancas* is mentioned by Shaw, as signifying a halter; *brans* is also said to denote a kind of bridle. But our word seems originally the same with Teut. *pranghe*, which is defined so as to exhibit an exact description of our branks; *b.* and *p.* being often interchanged, and in Germ. used differently in many instances.

[1] Compare Brockett's explanation of the word branks used on the Borders, North Country Words.

Pranghe, muyl-pranghe, postomis, pastomis, confibula : instrumentum quod naribus equorum imponitur. Kilian. Wachter gives *prang-er* —premere, coarctare. Hence, he says, the pillory is vulgarly called *pranger,* Belg. *pranghe,* from the yoke or collar in which the neck of the culprit is held."[1]

In a copy of Dr. Plot's "History of Staffordshire," in the British Museum Library, the following marginal note occurs on his description of the Brank. It has been supposed to be in his own handwriting.—"This Bridle for the Tongue seems to be very ancient, being mentioned by an ancient English poet, I think Chaucer, *quem vide* :—

> " ' But for my daughter Julian,
> I would she were well bolted with a Bridle,
> That leaves her work to play the clack,
> And lets her wheel stand idle.
> For it serves not for she-ministers,
> Farriers nor Furriers,
> Cobblers nor Button-makers
> To descant on the Bible.' "

I cannot find that there ever was a brank at Marlborough; although it is quite possible that there was, and that it exists in the Town now: the person possessing it not knowing what it is or its use. In the year 1858, the Rev. Thomas Hugo exhibited a brank at the Archæological Institute, and it remained till the exhibition of the Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, when the ladies saw it, and on my asking them if they knew what it was, one of them replied, "I suppose it is to be put on the nose of vicious horses who are addicted to biting." I explained the ungallant reality.

In conclusion I would observe that the Venerable Archdeacon Hale on seeing the specimen of the brank which I have, remarked, that from so many Cucking Stools and Branks having existed from the reign of Charles II. to that of Queen Anne, and from so many entries and memoranda being found respecting them, they must have been then in frequent use. He suggested that in those times, there being few Lunatic Asylums, and insanity

[1] Dr. Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, and Supp. *in voce.*

being a disease little understood, it was probable that many insane women who were violent and punished as scolds would be now treated as lunatics.

F. A. Carrington.

I must here return my most sincere thanks to our Secretary Mr. Kite, for his kind assistance respecting the blocks of the Marlborough Pillory, and to the members of the Committee of the Archæological Institute, Mr. Albert Way, Professor Wilson of Toronto, Messrs. Constable of Edinburgh, Mr. Jewitt, F.S.A., Mr. Stanley and Mr. Noake of Worcester, for their kindness and courtesy with respect to the other illustrations of this paper.

[Whilst the foregoing Article was passing through the press, its Author, Frederick Augustus Carrington, Esq., F.A.S., of Ogbourne St. George in this County, was seized with a serious illness which prevented his revising it. With the deepest regret it must now be added, that his illness has ended in Death. The Members of the Wiltshire Archæological Society and the readers of this Magazine, to which he so often contributed able and amusing Papers, will have received the intelligence of this event with universal regret. For his own part the Editor can only say that he has been deprived of one of his most cheerful and industrious coadjutors in the labour of conducting this Publication. Mr. Carrington was for many years a leading Barrister on the Oxford Circuit, Recorder of Wokingham, a Deputy Lieutenant for Berks, and a Justice of Peace for Wilts].

The Littlecote Legend.

To the Editor of the Wilts Magazine.

Sir,

Our friend and associate Mr. Charles E. Long, is indefatigable in his search after matter that may illustrate the Littlecote legend. Unluckily he committed himself to a strong opinion of its purely mythical character in his first notice of the subject in our pages (vol. iv. p. 222). His second communicated several interesting documents, which in the interval had been discovered at the Rolls Office, in his own phrase "bringing to light some startling incidents in the eccentric and not very creditable career" of the hero, Wild Darell, and therefore lending some probability to the tale; but not enough it would seem to lessen Mr. Long's "unbelief" in it. (vol. vi. p. 214). His third paper, however, in our last Number, gives as the result of a yet more recent discovery, two more remarkable documents which do not appear to have mitigated Mr. Long's scepticism, but seem to me in my simplicity to afford the most striking and unexpected testimony to the substantial truth of the story. These are, first, the veritable deposition, in the handwriting of the magistrate who took it, of the old midwife herself, who states that she was fetched by men on horseback, by night, carried a long (and probably round about) journey to a great house into which she was introduced mysteriously by a gentleman in black velvet, who required her to deliver a masked lady lying in a splendid bed, and threw the child, as soon as it was born, into the fire, sending the old woman back again the next night with the same precautions;—a document therefore of first-rate authority as evidence, "confirming," as indeed Mr. Long admits (p. 390 vol. vi.) "in nearly every particular," the tale told on traditionary information by Lord Webb Seymour to Sir Walter Scott, and related

by Aubrey nearly two centuries back, and within one of its supposed date.

It is true, as Mr. Long urges, that some of the usual embellishments of the tale, as told by tradition, are wanting, such as the "patch cut from the bed-curtain, the counting of the steps of the stair-case, and recognition of the house." But what legendary tale filtered through the traditions of centuries ever failed to acquire supplementary and varying embellishments? How, for example, does it affect the substantial truth of the story that the old woman was fetched from Shefford about six miles on the east side of Littlecote, and not from Great Bedwyn, (as some folks have told it) about the same distance on the west which Mr. Long remarks on as a fatal discrepancy?

The discovery, however, of this remarkable and unexpected piece of evidence to the main facts of the legend, does not remove our friend's incredulity, but only shifts it to what a Frenchman would call the '*locale*' and '*personnel*' of the tale. He denies that there is any ground for supposing Littlecote the theatre of the crime, or Wild Darell its author, and seems to think it just as likely, or even more so, to have been perpetrated in any other 'great house' of this or the adjoining counties, and by any other wild "party." But if we believe on the evidence of the old woman's deposition that such a crime was actually committed, surely it is too late in the day now to look out for some other possible locality or perpetrator than those to which the uninterrupted tradition of the neighbourhood and *every* version of the story without exception have hitherto attributed it.

Moreover the other documents discovered by Mr. Long contain matters strongly confirmatory of the 'local and personal' particulars. Some of these by Mr. Long's own admission shew Mr. William Darell to have been "a scamp, a scape-grace," and a "spendthrift," "charged with another and earlier murder," and to have carried on sometime previous to the year 1583, "a criminal intrigue with Anne the divorced wife of Sir Walter Hungerford," who may or may not have been the mother of the murdered infant, but who certainly was at one time involved with Darell in some "unfortunate

cause," needing "witnesses to be had and sought for," &c. (vol iv. p. 215). These admissions fully vindicate for him the sobriquet of 'Wild Darell' by which he is still traditionally remembered in the neighbourhood of Littlecote, and dispense with the need of any apology for supposing it possible that he may have been guilty of the darker deed which the same tradition fastens upon him.

Let us, however, turn now to the other document given by Mr. Long in his last paper. This is a letter to Darell from his Cousin, Anthony Bridges, of [Shefford, Berks, a village, as already mentioned, about six miles from Littlecote,] dated July 24th 1578, in which he reports "matters which you will wonder to heare, and yet *which I suppose, concerne yourselfe.*" He goes on to say that he (Bridges) had been recently visited and questioned (vulgarly pumped) by some inquisitive persons, "on matters cf great importance, yea, *as great as may be* to *those parties to whom they did appertayne :*" (which parties the preceding sentence shews to have been chiefly in the opinion of the writer, Darell himself). He continues, "The matter feare *you* not, yf it be no worse than I knowe" meaning probably, if they are no better informed than they shewed themselves to him to be as to the party implicated: "there was no party named whom the matter did concern, otherwyse than "a gentleman dwellinge within three miles of my house." He goes on to say that he put them off, and would tell them nothing.

This letter clearly shews that some serious charge implicating Darell was matter of inquiry among some of his neighbours and perhaps enemies, in the year 1578, and that it was supposed by the latter that Mr. Bridges possessed some knowledge which might help their inquiry. Now what was this accusation? Must we not look for an answer to this question in the document, found in the Rolls Office *attached to the foregoing letter*, and "*similar to it in the ink, the handwriting, and the paper.*" (p. 391. vol. vi.); viz. the same A. Bridges's statement of the Deposition before him and others of an old midwife 'Mother Barnes of Shefforde,' 'not longe before her death'—a deposition to *facts* identical as we have seen 'in all important particulars' with the heads of the 'legendary tale' as currently reported? It is true this deposition implicates

no individual by name, nor does it specify the house in which the transaction occurred. Indeed Mr. Long argues it to be 'incredible' that the better part of the night should have been spent in conveying the old woman the six miles which alone separate Shefford from Littlecote, But surely nothing would be more likely than that the men who fetched her should have been directed to carry her about by a long circuitous route, on purpose to deceive her as to the place she was taken to. As to the river she crossed and supposed it might be the Thames, it was probably the Kennet at Hungerford, which is there almost as broad as the Thames. She may even have been taken round by Newbury, and this would lead her past Donington Park, which she says she thought she recognized.

Again the deposition has no date. But upon this point Mr. Long, I think, labours under a mistaken impression, which interferes with the view he would otherwise, perhaps, take of the whole matter. He seems to think that to implicate Darell as the perpetrator of the crime, it must have occurred within a few months before his death. Now as that was in 1589, if the deposition is to be supposed to bear nearly the same date as the letter, viz. 1578, eleven years previous, "the whole tradition" he says, as regards Darell, "is scattered to the winds," (p. 391 vol. vi.) But there is in fact no authority for supposing any close connection in time of the imputed crime with the death of the perpetrator. Aubrey says nothing of the kind. And if among the traditional versions of the story picked up by Lord Webb Seymour or others in the neighbourhood, or still current there, some may, to heighten its horror, have related that the violent death of Darell closely followed his crime, this may be supposed an error, without the least impeachment of the main facts of the narrative.

I may here mention another of the points of the story which Mr. Long characterises as "preposterous" (p. 395 vol. vi.) and therefore rendering the whole incredible; but only because he mistakes altogether the meaning of the phrase employed in the deposition of the midwife,—" viz. that if the lady was safely delivered, she, the midwife, was to be well rewarded, whereas if

the lady MISCARRIED, Mistress Barnes was to be immolated forthwith." Whereupon Mr. Long dilates jocosely on the absurdity of supposing the gentleman in black velvet to have such an appetite for "infant cremation" as unnecessarily to act the part of an assassin when a *miscarriage* would have answered his object in a perfectly honest and satisfactory manner. But of course the word "*miscarried*," in the deposition did not, and *could not*, mean, in relation to a labour then actually in progress, a fatal result to the *child*, (as Mr. Long supposes) but to the *mother*, for whose life Darell might very naturally have been anxious.

Well, but is there any truth in that part of Aubrey's story which relates that Darell was tried for the murder, and escaped punishment by the aid of Mr. Attorney-General Popham, and that the latter was paid for this service by the conveyance to him of the reversion of the estate of Littlecote upon Darell's death without heirs?

Upon these points the documents furnished by Mr. Long do not certainly afford any strong evidence either way. But some matters appear in them which do, I think, lend some countenance to the statement so positively made by Aubrey; *e. g.*

1. The singular letter of W. Darell of June 17th, 1583,[1] to his cousin Reginald Scriven, who seems to have been servant, secretary perhaps, to the Lord Chancellor Bromley, in which, referring to the "secret advice", and many favours that he (Darell) had gratuitously received from Bromley, "when he was Solicitor," Darell continues, "O that I might not even heare say too that he had been *my good Lord* also." "And if it may be to have him *my good and indifferent Lorde*, I pray you move; and, as you may, *let fall in substance this*, I have a manor standing in good sort with me of the value of £300 by the yeare. This *will I convey to My Lorde* and Mr. Harry Bromley that maryed my kinswoman, and to his eyers, &c., if I dy without heyer male of my body begotten. And I will enter into a covenant, or be bound in £5000 for ye doing of it, &c."

[1] Vol. vi. p. 212.

Now this offer of making over the reversion of his estate, *under a bond of no less a sum than* £5000 *for so doing*, to the Lord Chancellor, *if he would be his* (Darell's) *good Lorde*, (a phrase in those days used to signify Patron or Protector in difficult circumstances), coupled with the doleful complaints, which fill the rest of the letter, of the troubles and ill fortune under which he had long been and still was labouring, seems to shew that Darell was at this period in danger from some serious legal proceedings, in which the Chancellor's protection would be worth purchasing by so large a bribe.

For as a *bribe* it seems clearly to have been intended. It is certainly not the kind of offer which would be made to a powerful Law Officer like the Lord Chancellor in return for ordinary friendliness of a legitimate character. That it could *not* be meant merely as a grateful requital for the past favors enumerated above, is shewn by the interjectional phrase "O that I might, &c.," and the conditional tenour of the offer, "*if* it may be I have him my good and indifferent Lorde, &c." Still more by the bond to the amount of £5000 for the due execution of the engagement.

2. Next in order of time we find that Darell was certainly indicted at Marlborough Sessions in October 1585, i.e. two years and four months after the date of the above letter, of *some* offence (see p. 217, vol. iv.), but from which he *some-how* got off. Is it not possible that this indictment had some relation to the charge of child murder? (It is well known that courts of Quarter Sessions were competent to try all felonies). And further may it not be that the protection sought by Darell on such high terms of the Lord Chancellor Bromley two years before might have been on that occasion obtained of Mr. Solicitor-General Popham in 1585, and rewarded in some similar manner?

3. For the reversion of Darell's estate had certainly before his death in 1589 been made over to Popham, since upon that event occurring, Popham instantly took possession of it, and of the title deeds then in the house at Littlecote, through his agent, William Rede, (p. 220, vol. iv.)

It may be said, no doubt, that Popham had probably *purchased* the estate in 1585, in the name of Rogers and Clarke for £800, (see p. 220, vol. iv). But this was certainly a very inadequate sum to pay, (even if it *was* bonâ fide paid) for the handsome mansion and estate of Littlecote with seven manors and 3400 acres of land, 30 farm houses, 20 cottages, 3 mills, and other appendages!

It may be justly argued that these latter points taken by themselves by no means warrant implicit belief in so grave an accusation against Judge Popham as that with which the tradition preserved by Aubrey charges him. But they tend at least to add some probability to this part of the narrative.

On the whole, without going the length of asserting that the documents with which Mr. Long has favored us contain conclusive evidence to the entire truth of the tale as related by Aubrey, it is evident that they do confirm it in many of its most important particulars. And it seems strange indeed that the gentleman to whom we are indebted for their discovery and communication should be the one of all others to declare that through their means "the facts of the story have one by one melted away," "leaving little or nothing of the dish first served up to us by our good gossip Aubrey," and to sneer at the "credulity" of those who still think it may have some foundation! (vol. vi. p. 395.)

If it had none before, other than "gossip" and "old wives" tales," it has now, thanks to Mr. Long, a far more substantial one. It is not often that legendary tales or local traditions have turned out to be so well supported by the discovery of contemporary documentary evidence, as has happened through his aid to the Littlecote Legend.

I remain your's very truly,
"A Credulous Archæologist."

Claim to the Earldom of Wiltes,

In the House of Lords.

By G. Poulett Scrope, Esq., M.P.

THE readers of this Magazine may recollect that in a notice of the successive Earls of Wiltshire in a former volume,[1] mention was made of the first creation of that dignity, anno 1397, in the person of Sir William Le Scrope, K.G. eldest son of Richard, first Lord Scrope of Bolton, the Chancellor of Richard II. Two years later, on the dethronement of that unhappy monarch, the Earl of Wilts, who almost alone among the courtiers of Richard remained faithful to his benefactor, was executed at Bristol, together with Sir John Bushy, and Sir Henry Grene, it is said without trial and contrary to the terms granted on their capitulation, by the invader Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Hereford, afterwards Henry IV.

Sir William Scrope left no issue. Nevertheless (the original grant by letters patent having been made in an exceptional form, to him and his heirs male for ever *(sibi et heredibus suis masculis in perpetuum)*[2] the dignity would descend to his next surviving brother and *his* male heirs in succession, (in accordance with the law as declared in the case of the Earldom of Devon) unless his execution, or rather its affirmation by Parliament in the same year, acted as an *attainder*, and consequently as an *extinction* of the title.

It would seem as if this supposition had at that time and ever *since* been taken for fact, inasmuch as neither his next brother, Sir Roger, second Lord Scrope of Bolton (after the decease of his father), nor any through nine generations of his descendants, who continued in direct male line to inherit the Barony of Bolton, down to the year 1630, appear to have at any time claimed the superior title of Earl of Wilts. Moreover the dignity of Earl of

[1] Vol. iv. p. 10.

[2] See the Charter printed in the fifth Peerage Report, p. 117.

Wiltshire was revived half a century after the execution of the first Earl, viz. in 1449, by Henry VI. in favor of Sir James Butler, of the house of Ormond, and again, after his execution and attainder, in 1461, was in 1470 conferred by Edward IV. upon a Stafford; again, upon the extinction of that line, by Henry VIII. upon another Stafford in 1509, afterwards by the same monarch upon his father-in-law Sir Thomas Butler; and ultimately was revived for the fifth time, by Edward VI. in the person of Sir William Paulett, ancestor of the present Earl of Wiltshire and Marquis of Winchester.

These five several distinct successive creations of this same title, since the death of Sir W. Scrope, in favor of as many different families, coupled with the fact already mentioned that no claim of inherited right to the Earldom had ever been mooted by any of the "male heirs" of the original grantee up to the present time, would seem to warrant the presumption that the title was really forfeited by attainder in 1399.

But since no lapse of time, nor suspension of exercise, nor a new creation or any number of creations of a title identical in name, is understood to bar the rightful inheritance of a Peerage, Mr. Simon Thomas Scrope of Danby-on-Yore, in the County of York, who represents in the direct male line, in the eighteenth generation, the Sir Roger Scrope above mentioned, next brother, and therefore heir, of the first grantee Sir William Scrope, has under competent advice formally laid his claim before the House of Peers to the Earldom of Wiltes, and trusts to establish the negative of the above assumption as to its forfeiture by attainder in 1399.

"The claimant having presented a Petition to her Majesty, praying her Majesty to be pleased to cause a Writ of Summons to be directed to him by the Title and Dignity aforesaid, Her Majesty was pleased to refer the said Petition with the Attorney-general's Report thereon to the House of Peers on the 7th day of June 1859, who on the same day referred it to the Committee of Privileges to consider and report."[1]

[1] Case of Simon T. Scrope, of Danby on Yore in the county of York, Esquire, claiming to be Earl of Wiltes.

We have reason to believe that the hearing of the claim will not come on during the present Session of Parliament (1860.)

It may therefore gratify some of our readers if we lay before them, in the meantime, some of the chief points of the case, and the considerations upon which its decision will probably be rested. For this purpose we quote the following passages from Mr. Simon Scrope's case, as printed for the use of the Lords.

"The Earldom of Wiltes was created by Letters Patent bearing date the 27th day of September in the 21st year of the reign of King Richard the Second (1397) in the person of Sir William Scrope, Knight, (eldest son of Sir Richard Scrope, first Lord Scrope of Bolton) to hold to him and HIS HEIRS MALE FOR EVER.

I. The said Earldom was enjoyed only by the said Sir William Scrope, who died without issue in the year 1399; the dignity has never been hitherto claimed by any of his representatives.

II. By virtue of the limitation to "*heirs male for ever,*" the right to the said Earldom descended to the next brother of the said Earl, namely, Sir Roger Scrope, second son of Sir Richard Scrope, first Lord Scrope of Bolton, and who succeeded to his father as second Lord Scrope, and from him descended successively to the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh Lord Scrope of Bolton, when the eleventh Lord (who was created Earl of Sunderland) dying without issue, the heirs male of the body of the seventh Lord became extinct in the year 1630.

III. Upon the failure of the elder line the right to the said Earldom descended to the heir male of the body of John Scrope, of Hameldon, in the county of Buckingham, and Spennithorne in the county of York, the second son of the sixth Lord Scrope of Bolton, namely Francis Scrope, of Spennithorne and Danby upon Yore, in the said county, who died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother, Christopher Scrope.

IV. Simon Thomas Scrope now claims the Earldom of Wiltes as heir male of the body of the said Christopher Scrope, and consequently as nearest heir male of the said Earl and begs leave to lay his case before this most Honourable House, &c."

To this statement is appended a detailed Pedigree of the claimant and an abstract of the "Proofs" which he is prepared to adduce in support of the different points of his case.[1]

It may be presumed that the claimant will have little difficulty in proving the three first points of his case viz :—

I. The creation of the Earldom of Wiltes in the person of Sir William Scrope, "to be held by him and his heirs male for ever."

II. That the said Earl was the eldest son of the first Lord Scrope of Bolton by Isabel his wife, sister of the Earl of Suffolk, and that he died without issue in the life-time of his Father.

III. That Sir Roger Scrope, second son and heir to the said first Lord Scrope of Bolton was next heir to the said Earl of Wiltes.

And further we may assume the correctness of the Pedigree produced by Mr. Simon Thomas Scrope, which makes him to represent in direct and continuous male line the said Sir Roger.

It is evident, however, that the pinching question will remain as the cardinal point of the whole case, whether the "affirmation of the judgment against the Earl of Wiltes by the first Parliament of Henry IV., within two months of his execution, entered upon the Rolls of Parliament (printed copy vol. iii. p. 453) is or is not to be considered an act of attainder, and consequently to have caused a true forfeiture of the title."

"On the part of the claimant it is argued that it is not, as it (the entry) contains no *express* attainder or forfeiture of this dignity: the law being that in order to forfeit a Peerage in tail, there must either be a valid conviction of high treason, or an act of attainder and deprivation, striking at the dignity by name. In this case, the execution of the Earl at Bristol, by the Duke of Lancaster,

[1] It may be noticed here that Mr. S. T. Scrope descends from John Scrope of Hameldon, second son of the *sixth* Lord Scrope of Bolton, whose eldest son Henry married an heiress of Conyers of Danby on Yore, Yorkshire, where this branch of the Scropes has ever since resided; and that his claim arising from the extinction of all *male* heirs of the subsequent five Lords Scrope of the elder branch has no affinity to the right to the dormant barony of Scrope of Bolton, which is supposed by Sir Harris Nicolas to be vested in a family of the name of Jones as representing, *through females*, Sir Henry, ninth Baron Scrope of Bolton.

could not have the force of a legal attainder, and the entry on the Roll makes no mention of his dignity as Earl, and *therefore* could not deprive his Representatives of it."

[The following paragraphs are those entered on the Roll referred to (I. Hen. IV.) which bear upon the point.

"Item le mesquerdy le xix jour de Novembre, en le dit Parlement les ditz communes prierent au Roy, &c., Que la pursyte, l'areste, et les juggementz, et quant q fuist fait envers William le Scrope Henri Grene et John Bussy pourrient estre affermez en cest present Parlement, et tenuz pour bones, &c." .. "Lesqueulx seignours toutz dune accorde disoient qe mesmes les pursuite, areste, juggementz et quant q̄ fuist fait, come desuis est dit, furent bons et profitables."

..Et puis le Roy declara, qe ne fuist pas son entent dàvoir nulles terres ne tenement es queux les ditz William Henri et Johan furent enfeffez a autri seps, mes q̄ leur droit leur soit sāve en toutz poyntz, non obstant le conquest avant dit.* Et outre le Roy disoit a dit Richard (Lord Scrope, father of Sir William) quil ne voillait avoir null terre q̄ fuist a luy ni a ses enfauntz a present vivantz, mez luy tenoit pur loial Chivaler, et tout temps pur tiel luy ad tenuz. Et outre le Roy declara q̄ l'Estatut fait devant ces heures, Qe nully forface apres sa morte, &c. estoit en sa force; et cette ordinance et declaration en mesme le Parlement ne soit prejudiciel a mesme l'Estatut a cause quils furent juggez et conquiz en leur vies. Et sur eeo, &c.]

It will probably be argued, to account for the fact that neither Sir Roger Scrope nor his descendants ever laid claim to the title, that at first, and indeed throughout the reign of the entire House of Lancaster, it might have been imprudent to revive the memory of their Yorkist ancestors' offences; especially as another member of their family, Richard, Archbishop of York, had since been guilty of open rebellion against Henry IV. and suffered execution for his alleged treason. And before the restoration of the House of York the title of Earl of Wiltshire had been bestowed by Henry VI. upon another family in the person of Sir James Butler. Under these circumstances it may be readily understood, why the Lords Scrope of Bolton being constantly summoned to sit in Parliament by that title should have rested satisfied with their Baronial honours, and put forward no pretension to the higher dignity of the Earldom of Wiltes. Moreover the peculiar terms of the original patent may have been ignored or forgotten, or, finally, the

*The King having in an earlier speech in the same sitting grounded his occupation of the throne *inter alia*, on the right of conquest.

law upon this point may have been obscure or undetermined until a later period. Some of these reasons, or others, in their place, will probably be suggested, to explain the silence of so many generations of the claimant's ancestors as to their right to this high dignity, which by his argument they have all along possessed.

This, however, at all events, may be averred, that should the claim of Mr. Scrope be admitted by the High Court to which it has been referred by the Crown, it will afford one of the most remarkable instances on record of the enduring vigour of our aristocratic and Monarchical Institutions, that an honour of this high grade, once conferred upon an individual by the sovereign of this realm, although enjoyed by the original grantee for less than two years, and having remained since that time unclaimed, unheard, unthought of, for more than four centuries and a half, should still enure, and be recognized as the indefeasible right of his descendant in the nineteenth generation. Should the judgment of the court result in the revival of the Earldom of Wiltes, it will take rank as the premier Earldom, superseding the Earldom of Shrewsbury which now holds that station, but the creation of which dates from 1442, nearly half a century later than that of the Earldom of Wiltes. The claimant, Mr. Simon T. Scrope is a Roman Catholic, as have been his progenitors from the earliest times. And there is reason to suppose that the Catholic party who have been greatly mortified by the recent transfer of the Earldom of Shrewsbury, so long held by Catholics, to a Protestant Peer, are very desirous to further the suit of Mr. Scrope, the success of which will replace a Catholic at the head of the roll of English Earls.

It may be noticed as a somewhat remarkable fact that while the branch of the family of the first Earl of Wiltes, which settled in Yorkshire at Bolton and Danby, and represents Sir Roger, his next brother, has never since his time, that is, the close of the fourteenth century, possessed any lands in the county of Wilts, the descendants of his second brother, Sir Stephen Scrope, *third* son of the first Lord Scrope, at that time owned, and have ever since held and resided upon estates in this county. The late Mr. William Scrope, of Castle Combe, occupied in fact precisely the same

position towards Sir Stephen Scrope as does Mr. Simon Scrope of Danby towards Sir Stephen's elder brother Sir Roger, being directly descended from him in continuous male line. Genealogists will allow it to be a rare, perhaps almost an unexampled occurrence, that two separate branches of the same stem should have thus continued in parallel male lines, son succeeding to father, for some eighteen or twenty generations, through a period of nearly five centuries, as has happened in the case of the Yorkshire and Wiltshire branches of the ancient family of Scrope. Our old Wiltshire gossip, Aubrey, in his "Fatalities of Families" writing about the year 1680, sets it down as a very remarkable circumstance that "the Scropes of Castle Combe had continued there ever since the time of King Richard the Second and enjoy the old land, and the estate neither augmented nor diminished all this time, neither doth the family spred." How much more notable he would have looked upon the fact that the same family was continued in precisely the same circumstances for nearly two centuries longer, while another parallel branch of the same stem, the Scropes of Yorkshire, equally continued through the same long period to exhibit the same remarkable fatality.

The last male representative of the former (the Castle Combe line) the late Mr. William Scrope, died in 1852. The representative of the latter survives in the present claimant to the Earldom of Wiltes. As Wiltshiremen then, we may be permitted to wish him success. And the more heartily since the collateral branch of his ancient race which has so long held an honourable position in this county is likely before long to pass away altogether from amongst us.

On a Roman Villa,

DISCOVERED AT NORTH WRAXHALL.

A FIELD at the north-eastern extremity of the Parish of North-Wraxhall in this county has long been known by the residents in the neighbourhood as the site of a Roman Station or Villa. It has had the name of the Coffin-ground since the beginning of the century, about which time a Stone Sarcophagus was dug up in it. This for many years afterwards remained above ground in the middle of the field, till the farmer finding it in his way, broke it up. It contained when found a skeleton at full length, and had a stone cover, but neither sculpture nor inscription, being rudely hewn out of the freestone of the neighbourhood.

A surface of this field, measuring some three acres in area, and forming the brow of a steep wooded slope adjacent to the parish of Castle Combe on the north, is strewn over with fragments of stone-tile, burnt-tile, black, red, and blue pottery, and other infallible indications of the former existence there of buildings belonging to the Roman Era. In the course of the last autumn the farm, which is the property of Lord Methuen, passed into the hands of a new Tenant, who finding the stones in the way of his plough, employed labourers to remove them. In this way several walls, evidently belonging to the chambers of a building, were exposed, and a little further exploration brought to light the rooms marked A and B on the plan.

Mr. Poulett Scrope, who had watched these proceedings with interest, communicated with Lord Methuen, and was requested by his Lordship to undertake the direction of further excavations. Four men were set to work and in the course of a few weeks had uncovered the foundation walls of one continuous oblong building, measuring about 180 feet by 36, and containing some sixteen or more different rooms or inclosures. (See Plan).

The five small rooms which occupy the western extremity of this range of building are its most interesting portion. They all possessed *hypocausts* or hot air flues beneath their floors, and together evidently formed a suite of hot Bath-rooms or *Thermæ*. The rooms at the other, or eastern end of the range, were not provided with any such apparatus, although from the superior character of their masonry and the remains of tessellated pavements found in them they would seem to have been some of the principal chambers of the house. The intermediate part of the building was composed of a long corridor on the south side, and on the north of a series of rooms of different sizes; some, which might have been small open courts, containing smaller chambers within them.

The walls of the whole building are of good masonry, formed of the oolitic limestone dug on the spot, for the most part well squared and faced with the chisel. They are from two to three feet in thickness. The portion of wall remaining measures generally from two to four feet in height above the floors, even in the case of those rooms whose floors are "suspended" over hypocausts. And the quantity of loose stone and rubbish lying on either side seems to shew that the stone walls of the building were everywhere carried up several feet above their present level, that is, to the height of one story at least.

When discovered the suspended floors of the bath-room suite were not all entire; and there were appearances as if parts of them had been rudely relaid after having been once broken up and the hypocaust beneath filled with rubbish. But in some of the rooms, particularly the two smaller ones A and B, the floors were entire, and the hypocausts beneath empty and uninjured. The pillars supporting these floors were (as is usually the case in such buildings) entirely composed of burnt tiles mostly about eight inches square, with a layer of mortar between them, the upper and undermost tiles, however, being larger, some even as much as eighteen inches square. All were of superior well kneaded and baked clay.

These supports were not quite symmetrically arranged, and being wider at top than at bottom, gave the form of rude arches to the intervals between them, of about eighteen inches or

two feet in width, through which the hot air from the furnace was intended to circulate. The covering-slabs laid over these openings from pillar to pillar, are not of tile, but rough plank stone, and their lower surfaces still retained a thick coating of charcoal-soot. Upon these slabs was laid a layer of concrete, or *terrass*, composed of lime mortar and pounded brick, about six inches in thickness. This had been every-where reddened by the action of the fire beneath. Upon it, in three of the chambers at least, rested a pavement of well-jointed and squared stone-slabs from two to three inches in thickness. In the other rooms the surface of the concrete itself formed the floor. In some parts it had been destroyed. The upper floors in all the rooms were on the same level and about 3 feet 6 inches above the basement one, the pillars being 3 feet in height.

Within the two hypocausts A and B (which measure respectively 14 feet by 7 with the recesses) there were found many hollow flue-pipes of terra cotta, from eight or ten to six inches square, and from one foot to two in length. Some of these were entire and stood in their proper position upright and in contact with the walls, others were broken in fragments. These flue-tiles have patterns rudely scored upon them on three sides as if drawn with a comb or toothed instrument, the patterns generally varying on the different sides. (see plate x.) Two opposite sides have usually one or two square holes in them, evidently intended for the entrance and exit of the hot air, which rose through these flues no doubt into the bath-rooms above the hypocaust. And for their admission through the floor there were open spaces of five or six inches in width left in some of the rooms between their pavement and the walls. It is possible that the scoring may have been intended only to make the mortar adhere the better: yet the ornamentation of only three sides of these flue-pipes seems to indicate that they were carried above the pavement of the upper bath-rooms high enough to be visible. Perhaps they were even continued as high as the ceiling. It is not indeed easy to understand how the *smoke* of the fuel burning in the furnace was conveyed away, as no other kind of flues were found. But as these

pipes, like the underground flues, were blackened inside with soot, it is evident that smoke as well as heated air must have passed at times through them, and entered the bath-rooms above by their perforations. It is possible that some means may have existed for cutting off the communication between the furnace and the hypocaust, until the wood fired in the former had burnt down to charcoal or a red braise, as is done in a modern oven. The furnace which heated the two sudatories A and B was at E (see plan) in the chamber adjoining the latter, into which the draught of hot air passed by an arched opening beneath the level of the floor, while the lower part of the wall between the two rooms was pierced by similar openings. On one side of this furnace at (e) is a recess, which was found half-filled with charcoal. It was evidently the fuel-store. The other side was banked up with concrete to prevent the escape of heat. The two other bath-rooms, C and D, were warmed in the same way from a second furnace in F, communicating with them in a similar manner by an arched opening in the wall. The partition wall between the chambers C and D, like that between A and B was also pierced with several rudely arched openings or flues; so that one fire in each case warmed two apartments.

The two semi-circular bays or recesses in chambers A and B are worthy of particular remark. In A the tubular flue-pipes were ranged round the inner curve next the wall, as well as round the interior walls of the small square chamber adjoining. In B the recess was separated from the square chamber by a wall reaching rather above the floor (but perforated at either end to allow the passage of the hot air) and having two flagged steps upon it ascending from the floor of the chamber to that of the niche itself, which had a solid foundation of concrete down to the base of the building, but with an interval between this semicircular pier and the wall for the passage of the heated air. In A there was no such division, but only square pilasters projecting from the sides marked the separation of the chamber from the recess. The entire arrangement suggests the idea that these semi-circular niches were capable of being shut off from the adjoining chambers by a curtain

or wooden folding doors, perhaps for the purpose of concentrating an extreme degree of heat in them, suitable to a *Sudatorium* or Sweating Bath.

In the chamber C a recess in the end wall is occupied by a water-bath hollowed out of a block of freestone. The interior measures four feet by two feet three inches, and two feet six inches in depth. The front edge of this stone-bath was found broken. The wall of the niche it occupies above the stone was plastered flush with the inside of the bath, and painted of a deep red colour. A hole on one side gave passage to the supply of water through a pipe, once perhaps of lead, bedded in cement which yet remained along its course.

The adjoining chamber D has a large semi-circular recess on the same (the western) side. The suspended floor of this apartment had been destroyed, but many of the pillars which formerly supported it were entire up to the height of two feet, and the flues between them were still coated with soot. Moreover within, or rather upon, the flue which encircled the wall of the recess were found three entire pots or pipkins of the black variety of pottery and of Roman form, (see plate x. fig. 2.) each covered with a flat circular disk of thin stone, standing upright, and, though empty, suggesting the idea that they had contained some kind of food and been placed there for culinary purposes just before the building was finally ravaged and reduced to ruin.

If the plan of this suite of chambers is examined, it will be seen that the door-ways connecting them are placed so as to make the arrangement correspond very accurately with that usually practised in Roman *Thermæ*, or Hot-baths, as described by Sir William Gell in his Pompeiana, and indeed as is recommended by Vitruvius the classic writer on Architecture. The innermost room of all, B, immediately adjoining the furnace E, and therefore the hottest, was probably the inner sweating-bath, the "*Laconicum*" in the language of Vitruvius. From this a door-way communicates with another small heated apartment A, having also a niche, the "*caldarium*" probably. Next to this is the bathing-room proper, C, having the "*loutron*," or stone-bath at the end. Then comes what

was perhaps the "*Tepidarium,*" D, a cooler apartment, though still suspended over a hypocaust, and this opens into a larger room G, the "*frigidarium*" or cooling-room, only one quarter of whose area possessed warm-flues with a furnace at one angle E, to which room access was gained from without, or rather from the remainder of the building, by a long corridor (L) the "*Exedra.*" This disposition of the several rooms would allow persons taking the baths to approach and leave the most heated chambers through several gradations of temperature; as is still practised in the East.

The walls as well of the Bath-rooms as of the other apartments seem to have been lined with stucco, coarsely painted of various colours, chiefly blue, red, and yellow, in straight stripes or trellice patterns. Some of the latter shewed a bud or small flower on alternate sides of each stripe. But no large portions of this stucco could be preserved, as it dropped from the walls in fragments on their being uncovered and exposed to the weather.

It has been already mentioned that the four or five chambers at the eastern end of the building were of rather superior masonry to the others. And the number of tessellæ found in their rubbish shewed that they had once possessed tessellated pavements, although of a coarse description. No portion of such however, remained entire: and indeed the rude walling-up of some of the door-ways of these rooms seemed to indicate that they had been subjected to some alteration, perhaps owing to their temporary occupation after a first partial destruction. In one of these rooms a singular narrow recess occurs measuring three feet in depth by only eleven inches in width; and in this, which may have been a sort of cup-board or hiding-place, were found the only two entire articles of fragile materials met with in the coarse of the excavations, namely, one of those earthen-ware and lipped bowls, lined with small siliceous grains, which are known to Antiquaries by the name of "*Mortaria,*" and seem to have been used for grating down soft grain or mixing paste, &c., and a glass funnel. (see plate). The latter utensil has it is believed been very rarely met with. The British Museum does not possess one of Roman character.

On the southern side of the bath-rooms, and at the distance of ten yards from their outer wall, the workmen cleared the foundation of a small building having outwardly an accurate hexagonal form, but circular within. It measured ten feet from angle to angle. On opening out the centre at the depth of four feet there appeared the mouth of a circular well-shaft, constructed of admirable masonry, every stone being cut to the curve of the circle, which was three feet eight inches in diameter. The upper courses of the shaft had been evidently destroyed, and the well itself filled entirely with rubbish from the neighbouring buildings. This was re-excavated, with the following results :—

At the depth of about twenty five feet human bones were found, apparently the remains of a single body. At forty feet those of two more skeletons. Below this the rubbish filling the well consisted chiefly of large fragments of masonry, comprising a great many broken shafts of columns, with their capitals and bases. These latter had evidently been all turned in a lathe, and are remarkable for the number of toruses or mouldings which they present. (See pl. iv. fig. 4, 5.) Some other carved stones appear to have been pinnacles or other ornaments surmounting the ridge or gable of the roof. Their style as well as that of the columns is of a debased architecture resembling the worst examples of the Lower Empire. The diameter of the columns varied from eight inches to twelve. And as fragments were found of separate capitals to the number of twelve or more, it would appear that the adjoining buildings must have displayed a considerable amount of architectural decoration, such as it was. Several coins of the Lower Empire were also found low down in the well-shaft. At the depth of 68 feet water first appeared. And there the masonry terminated, the foundation resting on a ledge of rock. The well was originally sunk still deeper. But the influx of water has hitherto prevented further excavation. When (if ever) a dry season occurs to drain off the springs, the excavation of this well will be further prosecuted.

The building hitherto described with its well stood within a walled inclosure (see plan) measuring about 220 feet by 155, which may have been a garden, or large court; and in the

middle of the southern wall of this inclosure are the square foundations of what were probably the piers of its entrance gates. On the outer side of this the foundations were uncovered of at least two other separate ranges of building, each possessing several apartments or small courts, and the whole inclosed by other boundary walls to the south and east, the latter being the prolongation at a very obtuse angle of the eastern wall of the first described inclosure. On various points of these foundation walls several heavy squared blocks of hard stone were met with from two to three feet across, and from eighteen inches to two feet in thickness, which from their position, as well as from the mortice-holes cut into some of them would seem to have been the bases of gate-piers, and in some instances of columns, or heavy square pillars. Indeed two square bases of such pillars, with a very good oval moulding were found in one place entire. To the northern extremity of one of these ranges of building there was attached a furnace, with its ashpit, having holes on either side as if to receive iron bars for the support of the fuel.

Among the rubbish of the buildings are many well cut and squared stones formed of a Calcareous Tuff full of cavities, which was no doubt taken from the side of a neighbouring hill where it is still deposited in great abundance by a spring strongly impregnated with carbonate of lime. This stone was probably employed for the vaulting of roofs owing to its lightness, as a very similar tuff is found so employed by the old Roman builders in many parts of Italy. A good many mill-stones or hand-querns, some entire, many broken, were also dug up. They are formed of a quartzose pebbly grit, probably from the coal measures.

Many of the walls had evidently been disturbed down to their foundations on several points, and in part removed either for the sake of the building materials they afforded or because in the way of the plough. The buildings had been roofed with stone-tiles from the schistose sandstone of the coal formation of the Vale of Severn. These were neatly cut into the form of elongated hexagons, and the roof composed of them must have presented a handsome and ornamental character. (See plate iv. fig. 14.) The iron nails

by which these tiles were fastened to the rafters generally remained in the holes drilled through their upper angles. Very strong timber must have been needed to carry such a roof, the tiles averaging in weight at least 5 lbs. They measured about a foot in width, and eighteen inches in length. It is remarkable that the Roman builders should have preferred to employ the heavy tile-stone of the coal formation which had to be fetched from a distance of at least fifteen miles, instead of that of the lighter Forest-marble beds, which might have been quarried close by, and which has been exclusively used for roofing purposes in the neighbourhood in modern times. The same kind of stone-tile and of the same hexagonal pattern seems to have been employed by them at Uriconium, according to the recent discoveries of Mr. Wright. The roofs were topped by a ridge crest of stone hollowed out, each piece fitting into its neighbour like the modern drain-pipes. Some of these were found entire, and several in fragments. The apex of the gables, as has been said, seems to have been capped by an ornamental pinnacle.

At the distance of about sixty yards outside the western boundary of the group of buildings hitherto described, indications of walls induced a search which led to the discovery of the foundations of four or five contiguous chambers, measuring inside about twelve feet by seven; the outer walls of the neighbouring chambers being separated by a narrow interval, or pathway, from 18 inches to two feet wide. Within these inclosures the earth had evidently been disturbed. On digging within the central chamber the workmen came upon an oblong hole excavated in the rock, and containing at the depth of six feet an entire skeleton doubled up, as well as a number of iron nails. This was evidently a grave in which a body had been interred in a wooden coffin that had been at some time broken up. In an adjoining chamber to the north another similar grave was found, in which at the depth of five feet lay a skeleton apparently undisturbed in a direction nearly east and west, the head being to the west. In this grave there were no nails or other indications of a coffin, except that several broad slab-stones, of no great size however, had been placed edge-

ways on either side of the body. In a third chamber to the south of the two first mentioned, a large flat stone was found at the depth of two feet from the surface of the ground. This proved to be a moiety of the cover of a full-sized stone coffin, or sarcophagus upon which it rested in its proper position; the other half, to which it had been once evidently joined by iron cramps, having been removed. (Pl. iv. fig. 9.) The sarcophagus itself was, however, entire; as was likewise the skeleton of the body it had enclosed, although doubled up beneath the remaining half of the stone lid. The sarcophagus lay N. and S. nearly. It measures externally eight feet in length by three in height and width, and two in internal depth. The thickness of the sides is from five to seven inches. It is quite sound, ringing like a bell on being struck, and is cut out of one solid block of the coarse freestone of the neighbourhood. There is neither inscription nor sculpture upon any part of it. Indeed the rough chisel marks have not been effaced over its whole outer or inner surfaces. It affords, however, as perfect and fine an example of a stone coffin of the Roman Era as any, I believe, that has been discovered in any part of the west of England.

In the neighbouring compartment to this the labourers came upon large fragments of what had evidently been the cover of a similar sarcophagus, and this, no doubt, was the site from which, as has been already mentioned, was taken up at the beginning of the century, the stone coffin which gave its name to the field. Indeed this supposition was confirmed by the evidence of a labourer who had at that time worked upon the farm.

On the exterior of this last chamber, and in the angle of two walls, which once formed part of another, a heavy squared stone was found lying horizontally at the depth of about two feet, measuring four feet by three, and fifteen inches thick. In the centre of the upper side was a circular cavity fifteen inches in diameter and a foot in depth. (Pl. iv. fig. 10.) It seems probable that this cavity once held a cinerary Urn, and was covered by another stone at top. A few fragments of coarse red earthenware and small pieces of charred bones which were scattered through the earth around, seemed to confirm this conjecture. It had certainly been disturbed.

No further discoveries were made in this cemetery. But the above account shews that within the small area of about fifty feet by twenty, we have here examples of three (if not four) different modes of interment, viz :—

1. Two bodies buried at full length within stone sarcophagi fitted with heavy covers, the skeletons lying N. and S.

2. Two buried at full length and lying E. and W. in graves dug five feet deep in the rock, one of them inclosed in a wooden coffin, the other in a sort of cist of separate upright stone slabs.

3. The ashes of one body inclosed in a cinerary Urn within a cavity excavated in a massive stone.

Each of these several interments were separately inclosed in a walled chamber. The foundation walls of these different chambers are not parallel to each other; some of them resting at an angle upon those of the neighbouring inclosure; a circumstance which seems to indicate a certain lapse of time between the building of the several tombs. That all are of Roman age, and connected with the inhabitants of the neighbouring building there can be no reason to doubt.

Throughout the course of the excavations which uncovered these buildings, and especially in parts where the black colour of the earth indicated spots that had been used for rubbish-pits, there were found a great number of fragments of pottery of various kinds. The black, blue, and brown wares predominated. A certain number were met with of the Durobrivian kind, having raised white scrolls or flowers upon a bluish or brown ground. There were also very many of the fine red or Samian kind. A few of these were of superior quality, and had been embossed with elegant patterns. One large fragment of a flat dish or saucer of Samian ware still shews the rivet-holes by aid of which it had been once mended. Many fragments of glass vessels also, and some of flat glass perhaps used in the windows. From twenty four to thirty coins were met with in different parts of the excavated area; among them was one finely preserved first bronze medal of Trajan, two of Callectus, one of Maxentius, some of Tacitus and Gratianus, very many of Constantine, Constantinus, &c. Two small but elegant bronze fibulas, the pin of one still retaining its elasticity, several bronze rings, two spoons,

two or three *styli* or writing pencils in the same metal, several ivory and bone hair-pins, were also found, as well as a large iron key, chisels, knives, cramps, large headed nails and other iron instruments, a few thin pieces of marble, several of heavy spar, and some polished pebbles which would seem to have been employed for grinding down grain or other substances within the "mortaria" already mentioned. Bones in great number were found of cattle, swine, deer and oxen, with many oyster-shells. There were also nearly a dozen boar's tusks, and of these one very large pair were united in an elegant crescent-shaped ornament by means of a bronze sheath or mounting, upon which were the figures in relief of three animals. (Pl. iv. fig. 11.) The central animal was, from the division of its hoofs, clearly a boar, the one to the left either a wolf or large dog. The third, upon the right tusk of the crescent, was unluckily missing, the rivet which had fastened it to the tusk remaining however, to shew unmistakeably that it had corresponded exactly in position with its counterpart on the opposite tusk.

The central portion of the mounting had been double, composed of an inner and an outer case, one fitting into the other, and seemingly fastened there (perhaps also to a leather strap for the purpose of suspension) by two ornamented bronze pins which fitted into holes penetrating both the bronze sheath and the tusk itself. The dimensions of the two tusks are very large. One of them measures nearly nine inches from point to root, round the outer curve.

This ornament is of an interesting character, and there is reason to believe that no other similar one is to be met with in any of the collections of Roman Antiquities found in this country, or perhaps even on the continent, I shall proceed to shew, however, that the use of such ornaments was not uncommon among the Romans.

It struck me, indeed, on the first examination that it must have been employed to decorate the chest of either a man or horse; and Canon Jackson, to whom I shewed it, having described it to Mr. Akerman, the late indefatigable Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, he was immediately reminded by it of a precisely similar ornament which he possessed himself. He had obtained

it as a gift from Mr. Barker, son of our consul at Beyrout, to whom it was presented by an Arab Chieftain who wore it on the front of his horse's chest, as a protection against the evil eye. It is a crescent composed of two boar's tusks, joined by a silver sheath just in the same manner as the Roman one found at Wraxhall, but with the addition of three ornamental disks like coins suspended from it. It was hung by a cord round the horse's neck. (Pl. iv. fig. 12.) On my communicating this remarkable parallel example to Mr. Franks of the British Museum, he recollected being struck by a passage in a classical poet, Calpurnius Siculus, to which he referred me, where a favorite stag is represented as adorned by a crescent ornament of this very kind, made, that is, of boar's tusks. The description, as will be seen, corresponds most accurately with the object.

Calpurnius Siculus. Ecloga v. l. 43.

> ....."rutilo-que monilia torque
> Extrema cervice nitent, ubi pendulus apri
> Dens sedet, et nivea distinguit pectora luna."

i.e. "Around his throat the twisted necklace shines,
Whence hanging the *boar's tusks* sit on his breast,
Which with a *snowy crescent* they adorn."

But there is more than this. In a note to the edition of Calpurnius Siculus which I consulted, reference is made to another passage from Statius in which a similar ornament is described as attached to a *horse's* breast.

Statius. Book ix. 686.

> ....."nemorisque notæ sub pectore primo
> Jactantur niveo lunata monilia dente."

...."On his front breast is tossed
A *crescent* necklace formed of *snowy teeth*."

In both cases although the word *dens* (tooth or tusk) is used in the singular number, the ornament must, to produce a *crescent* form, have been composed of *two* tusks joined together, as in the example before us.

Here then is evidence that two boar's tusks so framed into a crescent were occasionally employed by the Romans as an orna-

ment to their "horses" chests. Indeed upon consulting the sculptures of Trajan's column at Rome, several examples will be seen in which the war-horse of the Emperor is represented as adorned with one or more crescent-shaped ornaments hanging upon his chest from a sort of necklace (monile). (Pl. iv. fig. 13.) It is possible that these may have been made of other material than boar's tusks.[1] But it is evident how well such curved tusks lend themselves to adaptation to the form of a crescent, white and polished, of this kind. It is therefore not unlikely that they were frequently employed for this purpose when obtainable, as they would be in countries abounding with wild boars, such as our wooded hills of North Wiltshire. Indeed more than one other pair of tusks found in the Wraxhall excavations present marks by which it would appear that they had been connected by a sheath or mounting of this kind. Mr Akerman speaks of some found together with Roman relics, which seemed to have been mounted singly for suspension round the neck, as a charm perhaps against the evil eye, in which way it is well known that horns are still worn in Italy, and were formerly by the Romans, as an amulet or charm. In regard to the Arab horse ornament I have lately been favored by a communication from Mr. Churchill, a gentleman now residing at Beyrout, who states that such crescents are frequently so worn by the higher class Bedouin Chiefs, with the object of averting, not the evil eye, but a skin disease to which the horses are liable in that climate. If so, however, it can only be as a kind of charm that the boar's teeth are supposed to operate. Mr. Churchill speaks of blue beads being worn to preserve from the evil eye, and the Arab crescent belonging to Mr. Akerman *has* a blue glass bead strung upon its suspending cord. Both charms are therefore probably united in this instance for the double purpose. Whether any superstition of the kind was attached by the Romans to the crescent ornament does not appear. But it is

[1] We read in the classic authors of the rich 'phaleræ' and 'ephippia' worn by the Roman Cavalry—thus Virgil tells us "aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent." And Claudian "Dumque auro phaleræ, gemmis dum frena renitent." And Aulus Gellius "Equitatus frenis, ephippiis, monilibus, phaleris, prœfulgens." Lib. 5 cap. 5.

worth mentioning that a blue glass bead was found in the excavations not far from the tusk-crescent, and might have been worn with it as in the Arab example. The Pet Stag of Calpurnius Siculus was also decorated with "vitreæ bullæ," employed in a belt or girth around him.

> "a dorso quæ totam circuit alvum,
> Alternat vitreas lateralis cingula bullas."

With regard to the original character of the buildings above described, they may be conjectured to have formed the *Villa Rustica*, or country residence, of some Roman personage of Civil or Military importance; the site being chosen perhaps for the advantage of the chase, since the surrounding hills, no doubt, formed part of an extensive forest in early times, and the number of deer-horns and boars' tusks found in their rubbish would support this opinion. The servants and followers of the proprietor, perhaps also a small military detachment, stationed there for the defence and security of the neighbouring great Military Highway, the Foss-road, occupied probably the buildings adjoining to the principal habitation. The abundance of bones, fragments of pottery and other relics attest the continued inhabitancy of this station for a period of several generations.

Other spots in the vicinity shew vestiges of Roman occupation. Indeed on the opposite point of hill to this villa, across the adjoining glen, but within the parish of Castle Combe, the labourers digging the ground for the plantation now growing there, some years since, met with a small stone slab having the figure of a hunter or huntress spearing a stag rudely sculptured upon its face, (perhaps a votive altar to *Diana*), (Pl. iv. fig. 15.), together with a heap of about three hundred brass coins mostly of the Lower Empire. And in the parish of Colerne, between North Wraxhall and Bath, the remains of another Roman villa, having several tessellated pavements, were opened a few years back. Similar vestiges are, indeed, frequent along the whole range of heights traversed by the Foss-road from Bath to Cirencester. Upon or near the western escarpment of these heights (the Cotswolds) several camps are still to be seen, which formed a series of posts protecting the country lying to the east-ward

from the side of Wales. And it seems probable that the officers or chief men commanding the legions stationed in these camps, or at Bath and other towns upon this military road, possessed their villas or hunting-boxes on favorable sites in the neighbourhood; and of such these remains at North Wraxhall may perhaps present us with one example.

The spot in which it occurs is distant a good mile on the N.E. of the Parish Church of North Wraxhall, and about the same distance from Castle Combe, and also from the nearest point of the Foss-road. It is rather difficult of access for carriages. But a lane from Wraxhall leads to within a couple of fields of the spot. On the side towards Castle Combe it can only be reached on foot or on horseback, the deep glen which bounds the site on that side having no practicable road. I may add that the good state of preservation in which the greater part of this villa was found is owing to its having been over grown with wood perhaps ever since its original destruction. The wood indeed, was grubbed up only within the memory of living men.

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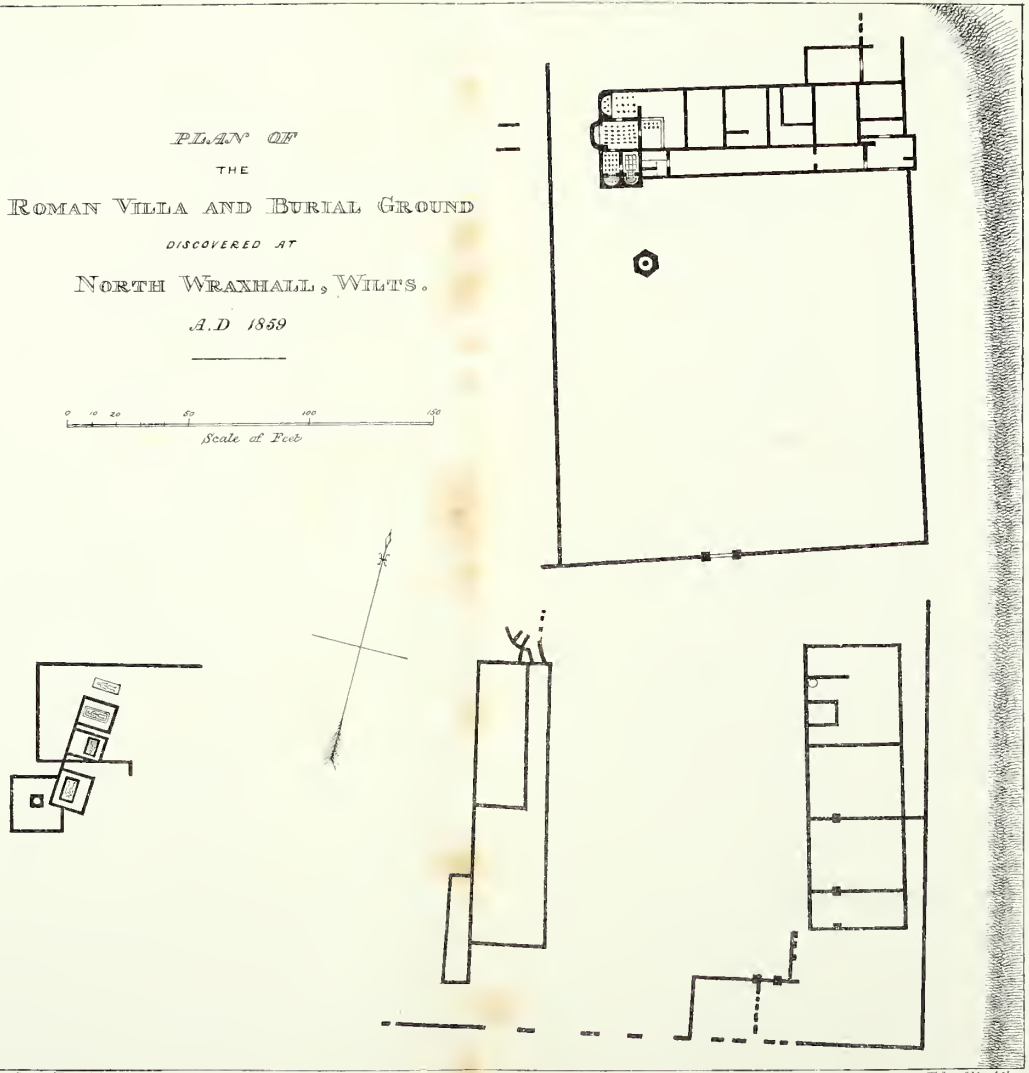
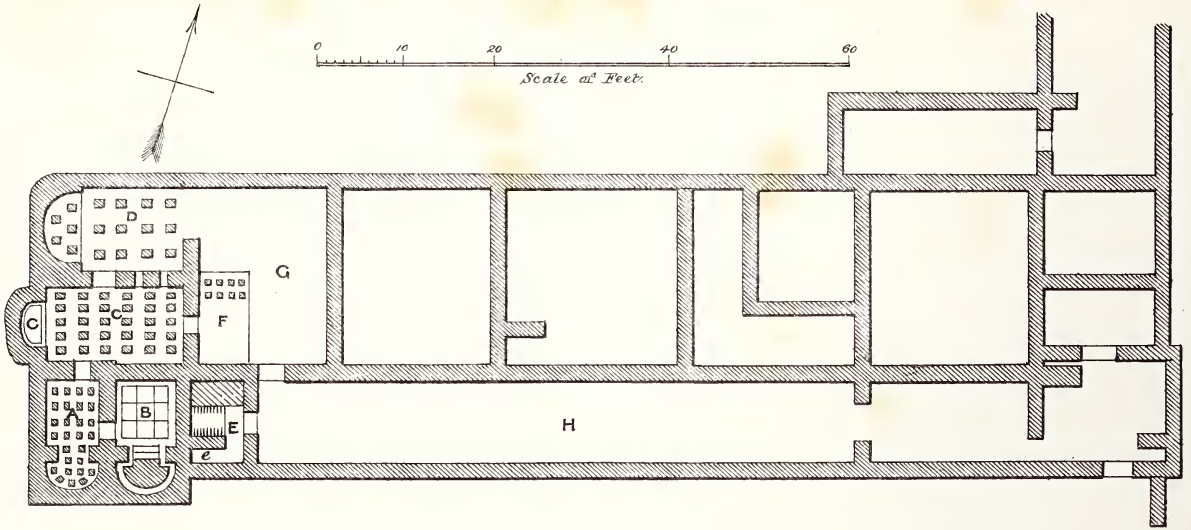
PLAN OF THE ROMAN VILLA AND BURIAL GROUND DISCOVERED AT NORTH WRAXHALL, WILTS.

A.D 1859





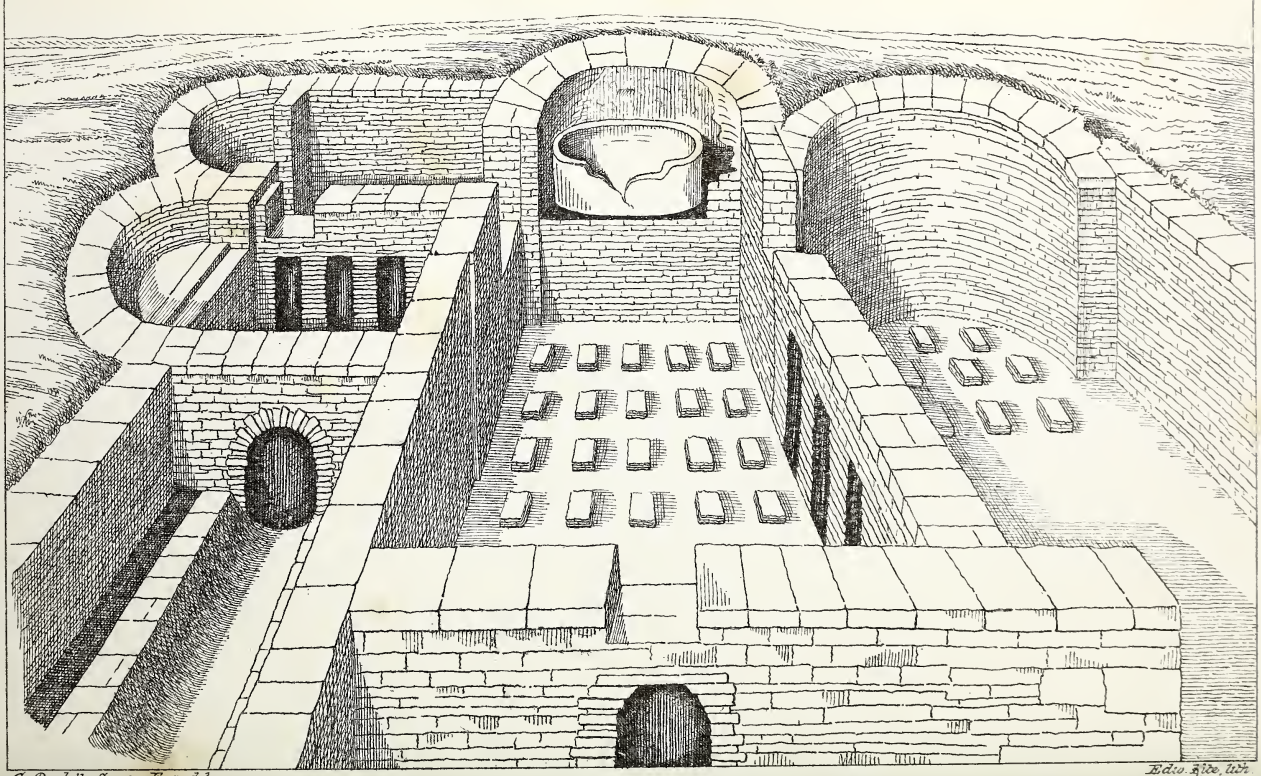
REFERENCES.

B 'Laconicum' or Sudatorium. A The same, or Sudatorium alone? C Calidarium, or hot bath.
D Tepidarium ? E. Fornax and Præfurnium. F The same. G Frigidarium.
H. Exedra, or Ambulatorium.

G. Poulett Scrope Esq. del.

Edwd. Lyle lith.

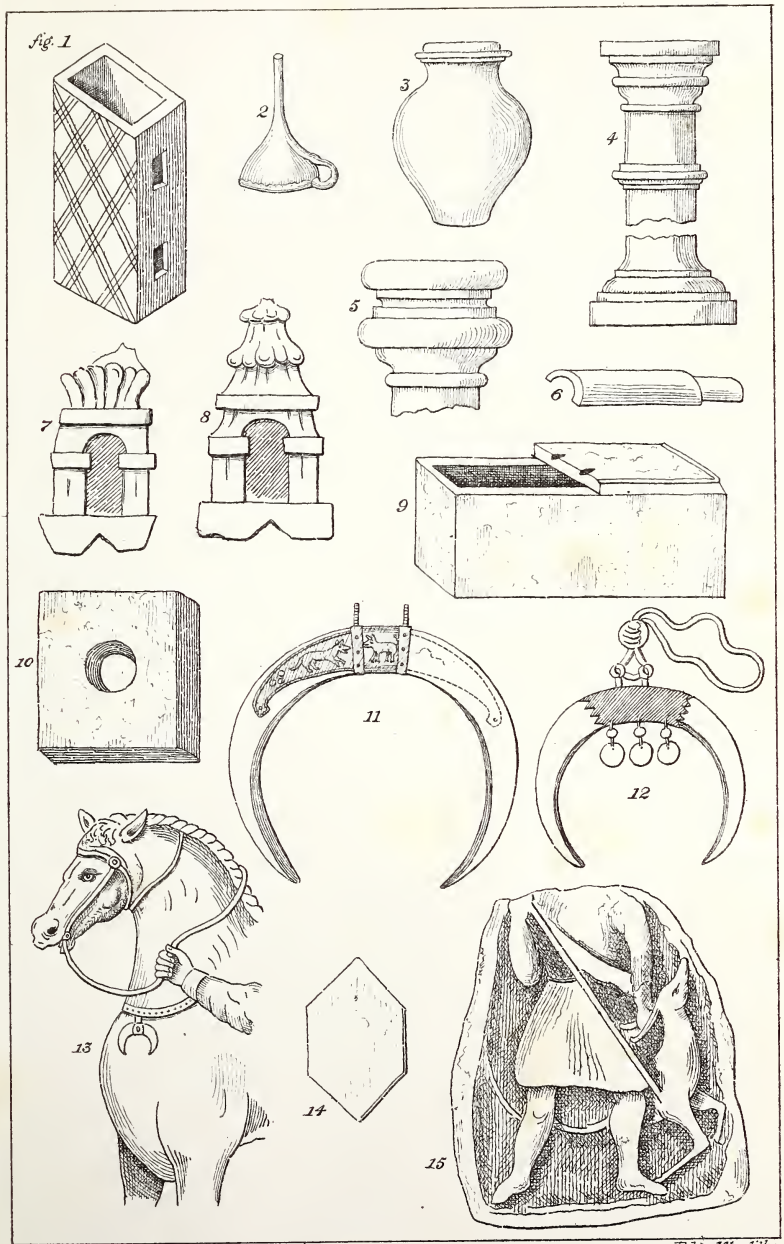
ENLARGED PLAN OF A PORTION OF THE ROMAN VILLA DISCOVERED AT NORTH WRAXHALL, WILTS, 1859.



G. Poulett Scrope Esq. del.

Edwd. Hilde, lith.

ROMAN VILLA AT NORTH WRAXHALL, WILTS — BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE THERMÆ, OR BATHS.



C. Poulett Scrope Esq. del. Edw. Kite, lith.

VARIOUS OBJECTS FOUND IN EXCAVATING THE WRAXHALL VILLA.

REFERENCES TO THE PLATES.

—o—

Plate I. General Plan of the Roman Villa at North Wraxhall shewing the well, cemetery, villa, and out buildings, as excavated 1859.

Plate II. Detailed plan of the principal building.

A. and B. Sudatories.

C. Roman with the "Loutron," or Stone-bath at the end.

D. Tepidarium (?)

E. Fornax, or Furnace-room.

e. Depot of Charcoal.

F. Another furnace sunk below the floor of

G. Frigidarium ? opening into

H. Exedra or Corridor, leading to the Baths.

Plate III. Bird's eye view of the Thermæ or Baths.

Plate IV. Various objects found in excavating the Roman Villa at North Wraxhall.

Fig. 1. Flue-pipe.

2. Glass funnel.

3. Form of three pipkins of black ware found entire, each with its cover, upon the flues in D, 9 inches in height.

4. and 5. Capitals and bases of stone columns.

6. Eaves-crest.

7. and 8. Gable ornaments carved in stone.

9. Stone Sarcophagus and cover, 8 feet by 3.

10. Stone with sunk cavity for Cinerary Urn.

11. Crescent breast ornament, formed of two boars' tusks with bronze mounting having figures of a boar and dogs upon it.

12. Similar crescent worn by an Arab Chief on the breast of his horse.

13. Led horse of the Emperor Trajan bearing a similar ornament, from the "Colonna Trajana."

14. Form of hexagonal building tiles.

15. Rude bas-relief found 1825 in Castle Combe parish, near the Wraxhall Villa.

Lost Volume of Aubrey's MSS.

"Hypomnemata Antiquaria B; or, An Essay towards the Description of Wiltshire. By John Aubrey of Easton Piers. Volume II."

UNDER this title, John Aubrey the Wiltshire antiquary, who died at Oxford in June 1697, made topographical collections for a History of North Wilts.[1] In collecting materials, he was assisted by his brother, William Aubrey, and after the antiquary's death, the manuscript was deposited in the Ashmolean Museum. In his correspondence Aubrey speaks of it as his "Description of Wiltshire," or "Antiquities of Wiltshire," in *two volumes*. Thus:—

"Anno 1671, having sold all, and disappointed of moneys, I had so strong an impulse to finish the Description of Wiltshire in 2 *volumes* in fol., that I could not be quiett till I had donne it."

In the Ashmolean Library[2] is still preserved one folio Volume of this work, marked in his own writing on the out-*side*, "Hypomnemata Antiquaria A." It consists of two *Parts* bound together in now discoloured vellum. The way in which the contents are arranged is this:—At the head of each page is the name of some parish, and under it are entered such memoranda ("*hypomnemata*") relating to that parish as fell in his way from time to time. On the margin, or elsewhere about the page, are coloured shields of arms, occasionally mixed with rude sketches of monuments, old houses, &c. Of this Volume both parts were printed some years ago under the direction of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., in small 4to.: the first in 1821, under the name of "Aubrey's *Collections*

[1] His *Natural History of Wilts* was quite a separate work, and is not the one now enquired for.

[2] Since this Paper was written, the Manuscripts of the Ashmolean Library have been transferred to the Bodleian.

for Wilts;" the second in 1838, with the title of "*An Essay towards the Description,* &c." (as above).

On the Title page of the Vol. A, Aubrey has written, "Let these *two volumes* of Antiquities of Wilts be Dedicated to my singular good Lord the Rt. Honble. James Earle of Abingdon." The first page of the Work is headed "Vol. A. Part I." Half-way through the Vol. begins "Part II."

It has always been supposed in our time, both at the Ashmolean Library, and by every one else, myself included, that these two *Parts* were in fact the two *Volumes* spoken of by Aubrey; only that they happened to have been bound up together. The late Mr. John Britton, who wrote a full and particular *Memoir* of Aubrey and his works (published in 4to. by the Wilts Topographical Society, 1845), describing the manuscript in the Ashmolean Library, says (p. 85): "It consists of two *Volumes* folio, bound in vellum." Having in the mean time made a discovery upon this subject, I one day asked Mr. Britton why he said they were two *Volumes,* when there was only one in the library at Oxford? His answer was: "They are both in one." I then stated to him my reasons for believing that we were all under a mistake, that *besides* the one (in two *Parts*) now in the Library, and marked A., Aubrey had most undoubtedly compiled another entire and distinct *Volume* marked B., which is lost.

This I now prove by producing, 1st, from Aubrey's own letters preserved in the same library; 2ndly, from marginal notes in the *Second Part* of Vol. A.; and then, from some other sources, several references to another *Volume* marked B.

1. From his own letters:

¶ "I hope my Brother hath sent you my *Book B.*" (To A. Wood, Sep. 2 1671).

¶ "Ferriby's Pastorals, which I have to insert in *Liber B.*" (Ditto 1671).

¶ "Ramsbury is in *Liber. B.*" (To Anthony Wood, 17 November, 1670).

¶ "Bradenstoke. Vide *Lib. B.* 51." (To do. Sept. 2, 1671).

¶ In a few lines to his brother (no date): "Bro. William, Insert in *Liber B.* the probability of the Lytes of Easton Piers being descended from those of Lyte's Cary."

¶ In a reply to John, Brother William reports "having got the shields of Arms at Pinhill House" (near Calne) "Fonthill House and Church, Mr. Bodenham's at Hilldrop" (near Ramsbury), "Rockburne, Heytesbury Church, Compton Chamberlayne House, and Burgate House, which is now down, or near it." (Wm. Aubrey, it is true, does not here name Liber B. but not one of these places is mentioned in Liber A).

2. The following references are on the margin of vol. A, *Part* 2:—

¶ In the page (original MS.) headed "Broadstock cum Clack," is, "Vide *Lib. B.*, 51."

¶ Under "Down Ampney"; "Vide Pedigree of Danvers *Book B.*"

¶ At the end of "Tysbury"; "V. Dunhead in *Lib. B.*," and again "V. Cirencester, *B.*"

¶ At the end of "Castle Combe," "Vid. *Lib. B.* p. 318."

¶ Under "Rowd"; "Insert this in *Liber* B: and bring that hither."

¶ Under "Marshfield;" "V. *Lib. B.* p. 318."

3. In other loose scraps of Aubrey's writing also in the library, I found,

¶ "Knahill" [Knoyle], "*Lib. B.*"

¶ "Dr. Muffett, a famous physician lived and dyed at Wilton at Bulbridge House, which transfer to *Lib. B.*"

¶ "Wythoksmede, V. de hoc proprio nomine in *Lib. B.*"

¶ "Bromham. In *Lib. B.* the Arms of Galfridus de Eyr de Bromeham, 15 Edw. II., A chevron Sable between 3 buglehorns.—J. A."

4. In "Letters from the Bodleian," Vol. 11, p. 602 *(note)*, is the following:—

¶ "Mem. In my *Lib. B.* I have sett down an exact description of this delicious parke, &c."

¶ Anthony Wood, writing to Aubrey, Nov. 10. 1671 :—
"I have received your *Liber. B.*, and have almost done him. If you have any more that follows I would gladly see them. I read these collections with great delight, and have excerpted some things thence for my purpose."

¶ In one of Wood's MSS. at Oxford is another reference. Speaking of Cirencester, Wood says ; "Mr. Thomas Gore of Alderton in Wilts hath taken with his pen all the coates in the house, at the West end of the church, knowne now (1678) by the name of the Swan. See Jo. Aubrey's *Book B.* p. 309."

It only remains to be said, that not one shield of arms or scrap of history relating to any of the places above referred to as in "Liber B.," is to be found in any of Aubrey's manuscripts now forthcoming ; and it is therefore clear that "B.," which did contain them, and which consisted (as one of the references proves) of not less than 318 pages, was another and a separate volume, now missing.

Some years ago I was examining Aubrey's manuscripts in the Ashmolean Library, and in so doing was struck by the marginal and other allusions to "Liber B." The Librarian "had never heard of, nor even suspected it. No such manuscript was in the library ; nor did the oldest of their present catalogues mention it. Many years ago everything was in confusion. What might have been there before, he could not say." At last, however, in searching through Aubrey's collections I found out how and when it had disappeared. At the back of page Z in the Index to volume A, in the handwriting of William Aubrey, six years after the antiquary's death, is this memorandum :—

"August 14, 1703. Borrowed then of Mr. Edw. Lhwyd, the Keeper of the Ashmolean Library, the *Second Volume* of my brother's 'Hypomnemata Antiquaria,' which I shall restore upon demand. WM. AUBREY."

As it was to be restored "*upon demand,*" and as there is no memorandum of its return, it was probably either forgotten by the Librarian, or when demanded could not be found. William Aubrey,

the last of his own family, and without children, died four years afterwards in 1707, and was buried on 29th October, at Kington St. Michael, Wilts. Mr. Lluyd, the Librarian, died in 1709.

William Aubrey died intestate. His circumstances appear to have been straitened, for his "principal creditor, Thomas Stokes," took out Administration of his goods and chattels on the 24th of November following his death. Mr. Stokes was at that time a landowner at Kington St. Michael: and as all books and papers of William Aubrey's would necessarily fall into his hands, the first step was to trace the family of Mr. Stokes and make enquiry of them. This has been done; the descendants of Mr. Stokes of Kington St. Michael have since resided at Stanshawe's Court, near Yate. Co. Glouc: but the present representative, after making every reference in his power is unable to find any thing to shew that the MS. was ever in the possession of his ancestors.

After so long an interval as 150 years inquiry may be thought hopeless. That it is in any of our Public Libraries is hardly to be supposed, manuscripts of this character in those repositories being generally well known. But it is not impossible, perhaps not improbable, that it may be still in existence somewhere, and most likely in the county of Wilts. If on a shelf, and labelled "Hypomnemata Antiquaria," it may have been passed over many times without the slightest conception that it contained a History of Wiltshire. At all events, merely as a literary fact, it should be known that such an additional volume of Aubrey's work did once exist.

Leigh-Delamere Rectory, J. E. JACKSON.
Chippenham, January 1st, 1860.

P.S. Since the above was in type, my attention has been called to an important Note in Rev. Thos. Warton's History of Kiddington 4to. 1783, p. 44; in which Mr. Warton is speaking of Alderton House in Wilts, then the seat of George Montagu, Esq.; but formerly belonging to Thos. Gore, Esq., a friend of Aubrey's. He says, "In Aubrey's time many old escocheons of painted glass were remaining in the great Hall of the Manor House, which he (Aubrey) has drawn *in his Manuscript History of Wiltshire, now* (i.e. 1783) *partly preserved in the Library there* (i.e. at Alderton), and *partly in the Ashmolean Museum.*" From this it would appear that Mr. Warton had personally consulted *in the Library at Alderton*, in the year 1783, a Volume of Aubrey's MSS: which must surely have been the Volume now enquired for. The Alderton Library was dispersed by Sale about the year 1815.

On the Ornithology of Wilts.

No. 10.—INSESSORES *(Perchers)*. *Continued from* vi. 182.

Conirostres *(cone billed)*.

WE come now to the second great division of the Perching birds, and having examined all those whose soft notched bill proclaims the insect nature of their food, we have arrived at those exhibiting a harder and more conical shaped beak, bespeaking at once that grain forms the principal part of their diet. As we proceed with the families of this tribe, we shall see this typical characteristic develop itself more and more, till we come to some species armed with such strong sharp-pointed beaks, as to be enabled to break the very stoutest seeds and even the stones of many fruits, as well as to pierce the hard ground, in search of food: but (as I before pointed out) nature makes no rapid strides from one distinct kind to another, but only gradually and step by step leads us on: thus, insensibly as it were, and through many connecting links joining together genera and species, the most opposite to one another in appearance and habits.

ALAUDIDÆ *(The Larks)*.

We cannot have a better proof of what I have just said, than in the family we now proceed to consider, standing at the head of the Conirostral tribe, and bearing so great an affinity in many respects to the last family of the Dentirostres, viz: the Pipits; for the Larks, though to a certain extent grain consumers, yet feed on insects as well; and though they have a short strong bill, yet it is styled by Selby and Yarrell *Subconic*, rather than conical, proving the exact position they hold.

"Sky lark" *(Alauda arvensis)*. Intimately associated in the minds of all with blue sky, bright sunshine, open down, and aerial music, is the very name of this favorite songster: all its motions

betoken such excessive happiness in unconstrained liberty, such intense appreciation of freedom, as it mounts upwards higher and higher, and soaring into the clouds, pours forth such strains as ravish mortals below, that it is positively painful to see it incarcerated in a cage, and to reflect how its heart must throb, and how intensely it must pine to burst its prison bars, and soar away out of sight of its persecutors, singing a hymn of gladness and gratitude at its escape: it remains with us the whole year, and is essentially one of our down birds, preferring open arable lands to more enclosed districts: towards autumn it associates in flocks and frequents stubble and turnip fields: it never perches on trees, but walks or runs on the ground very swiftly, which it is enabled to do by means of the very long straight hind claw, which gives it a firm footing on the ground. It sings in descending, as well as in ascending, and while hovering in the air; and anon as some fright or sudden impulse seizes it, down it will come like a stone to the earth, and away amongst the corn to its nest; but only to soar upwards again presently, singing more merrily than before; and we may hear it carolling away long after we have lost sight of the rapidly diminishing speck retreating into the clouds, for "Excelsior" is ever the motto of this aspiring bird.

"Wood lark" *(Alauda arborea)*. Very like its congener, but considerably smaller, with a shorter tail, and a white line over the eye and round the back of the head, this species is sparingly scattered through the County, frequenting woods, as its name implies, and singing sweetly while perched on some tree, as well as while sailing about on the wing: indeed it has generally the reputation of excelling the Skylark in song, though I am scarcely willing to allow this: it is a permanent resident with us, and in food and nesting closely resembles the preceding. I have before me many notes of its occurrence from various localities both in North and South Wilts, proving that it is generally distributed throughout the County.

EMBERIZIDÆ. *(The Buntings).*

Members of this family may at once be distinguished from all others by a hard bony oblong knob in the upper mandible, which

is narrow and smaller than the lower one: they are somewhat clumsy in form, with large heads and short necks, and heavy in flight; they eat grain and seeds in the winter, but in the summer insects and their larvæ form no small portion of their food.

"Snow Bunting." *(Plectrophanes nivalis).* This native of northern regions seldom comes so far South as Wiltshire, though it appears pretty regularly every winter on our Eastern and Northern coasts, and I have met with it in considerable numbers on the shores of the "Wash" in Norfolk: at that season, however, its plumage is reddish brown above and dull white beneath, and so much do individuals vary from one another in hue as well as in the distribution of their colours, that they have often been erroneously divided into several species, receiving the sobriquet of "Tawny" and "Mountain" Bunting, according to their sex and age and garb: but it is in summer plumage and in the extreme North that this bird is to be seen in perfection, arrayed in its attractive dress of deep black and pure white, and haunting the highest and most desolate fjelds of Scandinavia: and there I have been so fortunate as to meet with it on several occasions, now flitting from one lichen covered rock to another, now running quickly over the snow, seeming to delight in those wild inhospitable regions, so congenial to its habits, but so little to the taste of most members of the animal kingdom. I have never seen it in this County, but I learn from Mr. Withers that it has been occasionally killed in various localities, and brought to him for preservation; and Mr. Elgar Sloper of Devizes informs me that he has seen several which had been killed on Salisbury Plain: I should therefore suppose it to be an occasional and not very infrequent straggler, though by no means a regular winter visitant here.

"Common Bunting." *(Emberiza miliaria.)* Though extremely common, especially in the vast tracks of arable land on our downs, this bird from its great similarity of plumage to the Skylark is seldom recognized by ordinary observers: and yet its more bulky shape and heavier gait and more awkward flight should at once distinguish it from its more sprightly companion: it has little or no song, but may be seen perched on the topmost spray of some

low hedge, uttering its somewhat harsh screaming note. It is the largest of the family, and remains with us throughout the year: it is known also as the "Corn Bunting" and the "Bunting lark."

"Blackheaded Bunting" (*Emberiza schæniclus*) called also the *Reed* Bunting from the localities it frequents, and the Reed *Sparrow* from its general resemblance to our common House Sparrow. This bright handsome bird may be met with sparingly wherever there is water: indeed I have often seen it frequenting a dry ditch, and have found its nest at some distance from the nearest stream: it delights however in moist wet places, abounding in sedge and reeds and coarse grass, and here you may generally see its black head standing out in contrast with its white collar.

"Yellow Bunting" (*Emberiza citrinella*) well known to every body as the Yellow Hammer, though here we have an instance of a general error so universally propagated that any effort to correct it would seem almost hopeless: yet in truth Yellow Ammer is the correct word, *ammer* being the German term for Bunting, which is undoubtedly meant by the generic name we ordinarily employ, prefixing an unnecessary and meaningless H after the manner of certain of our provincial countrymen. The Yellow Bunting may be met with in every hedge and wood during the summer, and in winter it may be seen in flocks on the bushes and in the open fields, occasionally resorting to the stack yard in severe weather; and a very beautiful bird it is with golden yellow head and chesnut and yellow plumage, and highly would it be prized was it not so common: but alas! with birds as with human beings, we are apt to overlook the brightest and best, if they are ever before our eyes, whereas we highly prize and bestow abundant attention on the inferior and less deserving, if only occasionally seen by us.

"Cirl Bunting" (*Emberiza cirlus*). Montagu first discovered this bird as British, and Yarrell says that it is "generally found on the coast, and does not often appear to go far in-land;" but here for once our grand master in Ornithology is at fault, and indeed "quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus;" for in addition to many notices of its occurrence in all parts of the County, North and South, from various observers on whose accuracy I can rely, I

have repeatedly watched it in several localities which it regularly haunts, and have not only killed it, but have found its nest in the neighbourhood of Devizes. In habits it closely follows the Yellow Bunting, which it also greatly resembles in general appearance; differing however sufficiently to be at once distinguished from the commoner species, by the dark green top of the head and throat, olive-green breast, and other marks.

FRINGILLIDÆ (*The Finches.*)

By some authors these are styled Passerine birds or Sparrows: with the exception of the bill (which is broad and concave, instead of being narrow and furnished with a prominent knob) they closely resemble the Buntings last described: the members of this family are all of small size, and their characteristics are large head, short neck, and compact body: they are an active lively race, gregarious in winter, for the most part granivorous; and very abundant numerically as well as specifically: we have no less than eleven distinct species in this County, either as residents or occasional visitants.

"Chaffinch" (*Fringilla cœlebs*). As common as the Sparrow, and as well known to every body is this active handsome bird, flocking to our yards in winter, and frequenting our meadows and woods in summer: but not so generally known perhaps is the cause of its specific name *cœlebs* "the Bachelor:" it arises from the separation of the sexes into distinct flocks in the winter in Northern Countries, the females migrating Southward by themselves, and leaving the males to club together, as bachelors best may, or to follow after their truant wives at their leisure: on this account Linnæus named them *cœlebes*, and the name is not undeserved even in these more Southern latitudes; for the males and females frequently divide into separate flocks in the winter, as good old Gilbert White of Selborne long since pointed out, and as we may verify for ourselves any winter. The Chaffinch is often called "Pink" provincially, which expresses very nearly the sound of its call-note.

"Mountain Finch" (*Fringilla montifringilla*). This pretty bird, called also the "Brambling," though not a regular winter visitant,

occurs so frequently, as to be by no means uncommon: I have notices of it from several parts of Salisbury Plain, and Mr. B. Hayward tells me it occurs on the Lavington downs occasionally in some numbers: Mr. Withers says it has often been killed near Devizes, and many of them have passed through his hands: and during 1858 I received a fine specimen in the flesh from the Rev. F. Goddard, which was killed March 10th at Sopworth, Malmesbury, and is now in my collection; and was very kindly offered another by the Rev. H. Hare, which was killed at Bradford. The Mountain Finch when it appears here, is always found associating with the Chaffinches, which it much resembles in habits, but is conspicuous amongst them by its exceedingly handsome plumage of black, white, and fawn colour so mingled as to form a pleasing contrast: its true habitat is in the vast pine forests of Northern Europe, where it breeds.

"House Sparrow" (*Passer domesticus*). So well known to every body, that I need not say a word about it, beyond calling attention to the extremely handsome plumage of the cock bird, which is often overlooked; the colours black, grey, chestnut, and brown, blend with peculiar harmony: I mean of course in our country specimen, for in favour of town sparrows I have nothing to say, pert, illconditioned, dirty, and grimed with soot as they are. Here, however I would call attention to the Sparrow club, or the Sparrow fund which exists in so many of our agricultural Parishes in this County: and in many of the Churchwardens account books may be seen, as a considerable item of the Church Rate annually and for very many years past, so many dozen Sparrows destroyed at so much per dozen, the price varying according to the maturity or immaturity of the victims: Thus in an old Churchwarden's book, belonging to this small parish, dating from above 100 years ago, I see the items every year of from 20 to 90 dozen old Sparrows at 4 pence the dozen, and from 10 to 70 dozen young birds at 2 pence the dozen; and these with an occasional shilling for the capture of a fox, a groat for a polecat and an occasional sixpence given to a sailor, seem to have formed the principal part of the Church expenses of the good Parish of Yatesbury for above 100 years: so lightly did the

Church Rate sit upon our forefathers; and this continued to within fifteen years ago, when my predecessor considered Sparrow killing scarcely a legitimate Church expense. Now I am not about to deny that Sparrows are mischievous, or to inveigh against their destruction, which I suppose to a certain extent is rendered necessary: but I would observe that the cause of their immoderate abundance is the indiscriminate extermination of all our birds of prey, useful and mischievous alike, at the hands of the gamekeepers and others; for I contend that, was nature allowed to preserve her own balance, we should not witness the extinction of one species and the enormous increase of another, to the manifest injury of our Fauna: and with reference to the foregoing remarks, before taking leave of the above named Churchwardens' accounts, I would make two observations which strike me in perusing its pages, viz; the great abundance of foxes, polecats and such like vermin and the paucity of Sparrows 100 years ago, as compared with later entries: for whereas in the middle of the last century 4 foxes, 6 polecats, and 30 dozen sparrows seem to have been the annual tale of the slain; at the beginning of the present century 2 foxes, 1 polecat, and 60 dozen sparrows form the average sum total; whereas the last entry recording such items, viz. A.D. 1840 shows that, whereas foxes and polecats are exterminated from the Parish, as far as their persecution by Church Rate is concerned, no less than 178 dozen Sparrows met with an untimely end in that year: proving that notwithstanding the persecution raised against them, sparrows still increase upon us, and have enormously increased since the universal destruction of so many of our birds of prey, for whose behoof they seem in great part to have been provided.

"Greenfinch" (*Coccothraustes chloris*) also extremely common throughout the County, and residing with us the whole year, and easily distinguished from all others by its olive green dress tinged with yellow and grey. It is a very pretty bird, and is sometimes styled the "Green Grosbeak" from the large thick form of its bill: this gives it rather a clumsy appearance, and indeed in shape it is somewhat heavy and compact, and has none of the elegance which distinguishes other members of its family: it can boast of

no song, and associates in winter with Chaffinches and Yellow Buntings which congregate at that season in the stubble field and rick-yard.

"Hawfinch" (*Coccothraustes vulgaris*). When once seen will not be confounded with any other species, its large horny beak giving it a remarkable appearance: and this thickness of bill renders necessary a large size of head, and a stout neck, which give the bird a top-heavy clumsy look, making the body and limbs seem disproportionately small. It occasionally visits us in the winter, when it may be seen consuming greedily the berries of the white-thorn; the stones of which it breaks with apparent ease by means of its strong and massive bill, hence its scientific name, *Coccothraustes* "berry breaker." It has also of late been discovered to remain and breed here in several localities, among which favoured spots we have been enabled through the diligence of a member of Marlborough College to include this County;[1] for Mr. Reginald Bosworth Smith informs us that "it frequents Savernake Forest, and nearly every spring three or four or even five nests are met with: they select the thickest hawthorn bushes, and build their nests close to the top, where they are quite concealed." In addition to this statement of its permanent residence here, I have notices of its occurrence in 1845 near Devizes from Mr. Elgar Sloper; of its being frequently killed in North Wilts, and brought to Mr. Withers for preservation; of its appearance near Salisbury in 1832 from Mr. Marsh: and I have myself shot it at Old Park on the topmost spray of a copper beech in the garden (as I before mentioned in this Magazine Vol. ii. 171). Its general colour is reddish brown, with black throat, and black and white wings and tail; the larger wing feathers have a peculiar formation, and present the appearance of having been clipped square at the ends with a pair of scissors: they are glossy black, with a white oblong spot on the inner webs, singularly truncated at their points; or (as Yarrell, says) "formed like an antique battle or bill-hook." The beak in the living bird is of a delicate rose tint, which however quickly fades after death to a dull yellow.

[1] See Zoologist for 1857, page 5681.

"Goldfinch" (*Carduelis elegans*). This is one of the few birds which every body knows, and every body appreciates: its bright gay plumage of brilliant colours, its sprightly form, active habits and sweetness of song rendering it a great favorite: it is common too throughout the County, though not so abundant as to beget too great familiarity, which we have seen with other species is too apt to breed contempt. Towards winter it may be seen in flocks; and commons which abound in thistles or fields where those weeds ripen their seed, are the haunts which it loves to frequent, and where it makes its choicest banquet. I conclude my account of the Goldfinch with the following observation from the pen of the Rev. G. Marsh, and which I believe is perfectly new to Ornithologists, no hint of any such variety as is therein described having before met my eyes in any book on birds, while the names of Mr. Marsh and Mr. Dyson are sufficient proofs that their observation is accurate and not the result of any hastily formed opinion or conjecture. Mr. Marsh writes thus:—"In the spring of 1851 Rev. F. Dyson first told me that there was a bird which birdcatchers call the "*Chevil*" Goldfinch, quite different from the common Goldfinch, and the only bird that will breed with the common Canary: on the first of June I went with him to see one of these birds paired with a canary; it *was* certainly different from the common bird; the red feathers not continuing under the chin; it was a very fine bird, and the birdcatcher, (one Fisher of Cricklade) told me they were always the leading birds of the flock."

"Siskin" (*Carduelis spinus*). Better known in this country as a cage bird, mated with the Canary, than in its wild state: it is however by no means a rare, or scarcely an occasional visitant, some appearing amongst us almost every year, and sometimes in considerable numbers, consorting with Linnets and Redpoles, as Mr. Withers of Devizes can testify: it is a native of northern latitudes, and only visits us in the winter, when it may be seen clinging to the alder trees, the seeds of which it especially loves: though somewhat short and thick, it is by no means a clumsy bird: on the contrary it is exceedingly graceful, and most restless, resembling the Titmice in its almost incessant motions, and the

variety of its attitudes. Its plumage is a mixture of green and yellow, the former predominating: it is also known as the "Aberdavine."

"Common Linnet" (*Linota cannabina*). Extremely numerous throughout this county, more particularly on our downs, where they congregate in autumn in large flocks. In summer the old birds assume a red breast and red forehead, but this is only a nuptial plumage, which they lose when the breeding season is over, exchanging it for the more sober brown, in which they are commonly arrayed: this change of dress caused much confusion among our earlier Ornithologists, who mistook the bird in summer and winter plumage for two distinct species, and they named the former the Redpole, the latter the Grey Linnet; and this was another error which our countryman Montagu was the first to discover and rectify: it is a joyous gentle bird, quite harmless, and a sweet songster; and (Yarrell informs us) derives its name *Linota*, "la Linotte," "Linnet," from its partiality to the seeds of the various species of flax (*linum*).

"Lesser Redpole" (*Linota linaria.*) This is not a common bird in our Southern county, though abundant farther North: it inhabits the pine forests of Scandinavia, and seldom is seen here but in winter. Mr. Withers however informs me that he occasionally receives one to preserve; and Mr. Elgar Sloper has a female in his collection that was killed at Rowde on its nest in May 1850. It is a very small bird with bright plumage, and closely resembles the Siskin in all its habits and motions; hanging with its back downwards at the extremity of the smaller branches of the birch and alder; and assuming a variety of constrained attitudes, in its earnest endeavours to reach its favorite seeds; in all which it also reminds us of the family of Titmice.

"Bullfinch" (*Pyrrhula vulgaris*). Handsome as this bird is, and sweet as is its song, I fear we must confess it to be one of the most mischievous of the feathered race, for the buds of fruit trees are unhappily its favorite food, and so well can it ply its strong parrot-shaped beak, that in an incredibly short time, it will strip a tree of all its fruit-bearing buds, and therefore of all prospect of

fruit. It is on this account most hateful to gardeners in early spring, at which season alone it has the courage to come so near human habitations, for it is essentially a shy timid retiring bird, and loves the depths of dark woods, and the thickest of hedges for its retreat. It is sparingly distributed throughout the County, and its plumage is too well known to require comment.

"Common Crossbill" (*Loxia curvirostra*). Very eccentric in the periods of its visits here, no less than in the formation of its beak, is this truly singular bird. It is a denizen of northern latitudes, and though an interval of many years frequently elapses between its visits, it will occasionally arrive here in considerable numbers, when it frequents larch and fir plantations: and it is in extracting the seeds from the fir cones that its remarkable beak, (which at first sight appears a deformity) is so useful; this is of great strength, as are also the muscles of the head and neck, enabling it to work the mandibles laterally with extraordinary power, (this being the only British bird which exhibits any lateral motion of the mandibles:) these are both curved, and at the points overlap one another considerably: and when the bird holds a fir cone in its foot, after the manner of the parrots, and "opening its[1] bill so far as to bring the points together, slips it in this position under the hard scales of the cone, the crossing points force out the scale, and the seed which lies below it is easily secured." An old writer of Queen Elizabeth's time quoted by Yarrell says of it, "it came about harvest, a little bigger than a sparrow, which had bils thwarted crosswise at the end, and with these it would cut an apple in two at one snap, eating onely the kernel; and they made a great spoil among the apples." I have many notices of its occurrence in almost all parts of the County; suffice it to say that some years since they frequented the larch plantations at Old Park in considerable numbers: Mr. Marsh saw some trees in his garden at Sutton Benger covered with them in 1838, and relates that the keeper at Brinkworth killed fifteen at a shot. In plumage scarcely two specimens in a large flock are alike, so variously are its colours distributed, for while some old males are nearly crimson all over, others

[1] Monthly Packet, "Our feathered neighbours," Vol. xi. page 274.

are of a lighter shade of red, and others again in a mottled garb of green, red, orange, and brown: its legs though short are very strong, and it will climb and swing from branch to branch, taking firm hold with its long hooked claws: it is very active too, and lively in its manners, and remarkably fearless and confiding.

STURNIDÆ. (*The Starlings*).

This is an interesting family, the members of it so pert and lively, and with so many amusing habits: they are very sociable and usually move in large flocks: omnivorous, for nothing seems to come amiss to their appetite; and perfectly harmless, so much so as to have excited but little enmity and little persecution from man.

"Common Starling." (*Sturnus vulgaris.*) This is one of our most constant companions, frequenting the roofs of our houses for nesting purposes, marching about our lawns and gardens all day in search of worms, wheeling about on rapid wing in small companies around us, and otherwise demeaning itself as an innocent harmless bird should do, its *mens conscia recti* giving it confidence, and demanding its protection or at least comparative freedom from molestation at the hands of man: moreover it lends its gratuitous services to the shepherd, and may often be seen perched on the sheeps back, giving its friendly aid to rid them of their troublesome parasites. Though at a little distance of dull sombre dress, it will on examination be found to possess a remarkably bright burnished plumage, composed of long narrow silky black feathers, shining with metallic tints of green blue and purple, and each garnished with a triangular white spot at the tip. As autumn approaches, these birds congregate in vast multitudes in certain favoured spots towards evening, arriving in flights of forty or fifty, till many thousands and even millions are collected, and forming quite a cloud they whirl through the air as if guided by one impulse; now ascending high, then wheeling round, descending with a roar of rushing wings, till they almost brush the earth in their rapid course; and finally down they glide into the plantations or reed-bed which they have selected for their roosting place: and then

such a hubbub of voices ensues, such chattering and such scolding, each apparently anxious to secure the best berth for the night: but if a gun should chance to be fired, or any thing else occcur to startle them, away goes the whole flock in a dense cloud, with a roar which would astonish those who have not seen and heard them. Such a roosting-place exists on the Lavington downs at New Copse, and here I am informed by Mr. Stratton of Gore Cross, that these birds flock in thousands and tens of thousands, and he adds that it is curious to observe their tactics when a hawk appears; for as the hawk prepares for the fatal pounce, they collect into balls or compact flocks, and so baffle their enemy, which immediately ascends higher for another swoop: meanwhile the Starlings hurry along towards some place of shelter, but ball again, as the hawk prepares to make a second dash. Another favoured haunt of the Starlings is a wood in the parish of Nettleton near Chippenham, where I am informed "one thousand were killed a few years since by thirty discharges from a single barrelled gun at one time," a piece of wanton cruelty only outdone by the massacre which Col. Hawker records; how he slew some thousands of Starlings at a single shot from his long gun, in the reeds near Lymington in Hampshire. In the fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire this habit of roosting in masses is productive of considerable mischief to the reed beds which are of great value, the vast numbers settling on the same reed bearing it down and breaking it with the unwonted weight: and even plantations and copses sometimes suffer a certain amount of damage from a similar destruction of the leading branches of the young trees.[1]

[1] One of these enormous colonies of starlings had been for many years allowed without disturbance to roost nightly in one of the late Mr. Neeld's plantations alongside the public way (the Foss road) at Dunley near "The Elm and Ash," about two miles from Grittleton. In April, 1850, the Keeper whose cottage was only a few yards off, having had occasion one night to take a few of the birds prisoners for some shooting practise the next day, the whole colony resented the breach of hospitality, and suddenly left the place altogether. It was then found that they had entirely spoiled the young trees and laurel shrubs on about one acre of the plantation; but that to make up for the damage, had bequeathed a valuable deposit of *guano*, of which no less than 60 loads were hauled away. (J. E. J.)

"Rose coloured Pastor." (*Pastor roseus*). This very beautiful bird is extremely rare in England, a few stragglers only having occasionally appeared: it is a native of the hottest parts of Asia and Africa, but migrates northward in summer, and is sparingly scattered throughout the southern countries of Europe every year, the outskirts of the army sometimes penetrating so far north as Britain. One and one only instance I can adduce of its undoubted occurrence in Wiltshire, and that was in 1853, when a specimen was killed by a shepherd on Salisbury Plain near Wilton, and is now in the possession of the Rev. G. Powell, of Sutton Veny. It is usually seen associating with the Starlings, to which family indeed it belongs, and which it much resembles in general habits, mode of feeding, &c. Its plumage is exceedingly beautiful in the living bird, but the delicate rose tint, whence it derives its specific name, loses much of its freshness after death, and in course of years fades to a dingy pink. The head wings and tail are of a glossy velvet black, with violet reflections; the whole of the under parts and back of a deep rose red: the head is likewise adorned with a long pendent crest of loose silky feathers of a glossy black. The legs are very strong, and with the upper mandible of the bill reddish orange. It is called "*Pastor*" the shepherd or herdsman, from its habit, (which it shares with the common Starling,) of attending flocks.

CORVIDÆ. (*The Crows*).

This is a very large and important family, very numerous too and widely distributed, and most of its members being of considerable size attract more general attention than the preceding smaller and more retiring birds, and are therefore familiar to the least observant: their general characteristics are stout compact body, large head, thick short neck, beak large straight and pointed, legs strong and well adapted for walking with ease as well as for perching: their flight too is strong and even, and as regards their appetite, they seem to devour every thing they meet with, being truly omnivorous, and refusing nothing eatable which comes in their way. From these several properties the Crows have been

styled the most perfect of the winged creation, and it has been remarked that they seem to have received some peculiar property from each order of birds, by which they stand in the centre of the feathered kingdom, reflecting the characteristics of the whole, being so well fitted for walking, equally powerful on the wing, inhabitants of all climates, and capable of subsisting on all kinds of food. Notwithstanding their frequent association with man they are a vigilant cautious race, ever on the watch for an enemy, and scenting danger from afar.

"Chough" (*Fregilus graculus.*) This is scarcely a true Crow, but rather a link between the Starlings and Crows, partaking most however, of the habits and appearance of the latter: It is a very graceful elegant bird, and slender in form: its plumage of a glossy bluish black, strongly contrasted with which are the beak, legs, and feet, which are of a bright vermillion red or deep orange colour: the beak is very long, slender, and considerably curved. It is said never to perch on trees, but always on rocks, and Montagu, (who gives a full account of one of these birds which had been tamed) says its inquisitive habits are equal to those of any Crow: its food principally consists of insects, for reaching which in the crevices of rocks its long sharp pointed slender bill is admirably adapted. Its true habitat is among the lofty precipices on the sea coast, or amid the rocks of inland countries, abounding in the Swiss Alps, and in the Tyrol ,where it frequents the loftier regions far up among the glaciers: in England it is sparingly found on some of our more rocky coasts, and is often styled the *Cornish* Chough, from an erroneous impression that it was peculiar to that County, though Shakspeare, with his usual wonderful knowledge of nature, shows that he did not share in that mistake, for in describing the height of the cliff at Dover he says

> "The Crows and *Choughs* that wing the midway air
> Show scarce as gross as beetles."

Wiltshire too is one of the few inland counties which has had its stragglers of this species: Yarrell quoting from the Field Naturalist Magazine for August 1832, recounts how a Red-legged Crow was killed on the Wiltshire downs, near the Bath Road between

Marlborough and Calne, by a man employed in keeping birds from corn: this must have been very near, if not in my own Parish of Yatesbury. In addition to this, Blyth the editor of White's Selborne, records the capture of another of this species on Salisbury Plain; and I have one more instance of its occurrence in the County hitherto unpublished, for the Rev. F. Dyson killed one many years since on the downs at Tidworth, where two had been seen hovering about for many days previous. This I fear is likely to be the last specimen of this truly graceful bird, wandering to our County, for it is now become very rare even in those localities on the sea coast where it was once most numerous, and will probably soon be classed in that sad catalogue of species, which once abundant are now exterminated by the ruthless rage for slaughter so prevalent with all classes, in which the noble Bustard already figures, and will soon be joined by the Kite and the Bittern, and many another interesting bird with which the last generation was familiar.

"Raven" (*Corvus corax*). If the Crows exhibit more intelligence than all other families as is often asserted, here we have the most sagacious of the Crows: unlike many of its congeners, the Raven lives for the most part a solitary life, at least in this Country for I have seen some numbers of them together in Norway. It is by far the largest of all the pie tribe in Europe, of strong robust shape, of grave and dignified bearing; its plumage of the deepest and glossiest black, with purple blue and green reflections. The term Raven is derived from an old word signifying to tear away, or *snatch* and devour, alluding to its voracious plundering habits, for it not only feeds on carrion, but attacks weak and sickly animals and birds. It is supposed to live to a very great age, but this does not seem to have ever been satisfactorily proved: it pairs for life, and breeds very early in the year, returning, if undisturbed annually to the same spot for the purpose; but it always drives away the young birds when they are fully fledged and able to provide for themselves. Extremely wary and impatient of molestation, it has been expelled from many of its old accustomed breeding places by the persecution of gamekeepers and others; not many

years since it used to build annually at Erlestoke and Roundway Parks, indeed a pair very lately returned to their old haunt at the latter place, but were scared away: Mr. B. Hayward tells me that for twenty years they built in a clump on the hill above Lavington; but are never seen there now: we may still however meet with them on the downs, where they love to pass the day in solitary grandeur, far removed from the interference of man; and there are some favoured breeding places yet in the County, to which they still annually return, and where they rear their young in safety, as in an elm at Draycot Park, in a Scotch fir at Spye Park, and a few other chosen spots where they are guarded from molestation: and indeed a Raven tree is no mean ornament to a park, and speaks of a wide domain and large timber, and an ancient family, for the Raven is an aristocratic bird, and cannot brook a confined property or trees of young growth: would that its predilections were more humoured and a secure retreat allowed it by the larger proprietors in our County. The time has I trust gone by in England when the poor Raven was regarded as a bird of ill omen, and its croak dreaded as a sure sign portending some coming evil, and yet not long ago, such was the absurd superstition regarding this much maligned species, as we may see from various passages of Shakspeare as well as other authors of that and even a later date: in old time and in heathen countries we all know how anxiously its every note was listened to and its every action studied by the soothsayer; for as Virgil sang,

"Sæpe sinistra cavâ prædixit ab ilice cornix."

And it was consecrated to Apollo as a foreteller of things to come; but it may not be so generally known that at this day not only do the North American Indians honour it as unearthly, and invest it with extraordinary knowledge and power, and place its skin on the heads of their officiating priests as a distinguishing mark of their office, but even in Christian Scandinavia and especially in Iceland, all which countries are some centuries behind the rest of Europe in civilization, it is regarded with like fear, so much so as to have gained for itself the sobriquet of the "bird of Odin," whose satellite it is supposed to be. I forbear to touch on the Raven in con-

finement, and its powers of imitating the human voice, and many interesting proofs of its wonderful sagacity and quaint manners, though I could fill a page or two with such anecdotes, trusting that the Rev. G. Marsh will some day write in this Magazine a monograph on this bird, with a full account of the notorious Raven, which is now domiciled at Sutton Benger, and of its predecessors which that gentleman has kept for many years, and with whose habits and manners of life he is so thoroughly acquainted.

"Carrion Crow" (*Corvus corone*). So much resembling the last described in form and manners, but of smaller size, that it may well be termed "the Miniature Raven." This species is likewise seldom seen in flocks, pairs for life, and may be found in wooded districts throughout the County, in colour it is jet black, without the metallic lustre so conspicuous in the plumage of the Raven: it is very bold and a great enemy to young game and eggs as well as to the poultry yard: its ordinary food, for lack of carrion which it rarely finds here, is any animal matter it can pick up, and failing this, it contents itself with grain and vegetable diet. Though shy and with reason suspicious of too great familiarity with man, it is one of the most pugnacious of birds and will attack and drive away all intruders from its nest; Mr. Waterton, who has protected it and studied its habits closely at Walton Hall, says, "It is a very early riser, and long before the rook is on the wing, you hear this bird announcing the approach of morn with his loud hollow croaking from the oak to which he had resorted the night before: he retires to rest later than the rook, indeed as far as I have been able to observe his motions, I consider him the first bird on wing in the morning, and the last at night, of all our non-migrating diurnal British Birds."

"Hooded Crow" (*Corvus cornix*). With all the bad and none of the good qualities of the preceding, this Crow is no favorite in those parts of England where it abounds: it is a determined destroyer of the eggs and young of game birds, more especially of the genus Grous, and is cowardly as well as cruel in the execution of its victims. Mr. St. John in his "Field notes and Tour in Sutherland" speaks of it in no measured terms, and declares it is the "only

bird against which he urges constant and unpitying warfare" and he excuses himself for so doing on the plea that he has so often detected it destroying his most favorite birds and eggs that he has no pity on it: and Mr. Knox, the intelligent author of "Game birds and Wild Fowl" has not a word to say in its favour; not even Mr. Waterton, the general champion of the oppressed, has a good word for the Hooded Crow; so that we may congratulate ourselves that it only appears in Wiltshire occasionally: its visits however are frequent enough to render it familiar to most people: I have myself often seen it on the Marlborough downs, and I have many notices of it from various parts of the County, more especially in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, where it frequents the water meadows in the winter months, at which season only it migrates so far south: its true habitat is northern Europe, where I have seen it in great abundance, for it is the representative of the Corvidæ there, and very tame and familiar it seemed, searching the newly mown meadows for worms and slugs, and marching on the roads in front of our horses, just as its congener the rook does here. On the eastern coast of England I have found it in some numbers, as it resorts to the sea-shore for the never failing supply of food which it finds in the shell-fish and other marine productions thrown up by the tides: and Bishop Stanley says it may frequently be seen after vain attempts to break through the hard shell of a cockle or muscle, to seize it in its bill, mount with it to a great height, and then let it fall on a hard rock, by which it is broken, and the bird has nothing more to do than to reap the fruit of its forethought. In colour the head, throat, wings, and tail, are black, the rest of the plumage smoke grey. It is called the *Hooded* Crow from its black head, and the *Royston* Crow, as it was supposed to be peculiar to that district, where in truth I have seen it in considerable numbers: it is also provincially named the *Grey-backed* and the *Scaul* Crow.

"Rook" (*Corvus frugilegus*). Having devoted a whole paper to this most familiar bird, and endeavoured to prove its value in destroying grubs, so far exceeding any injury it may commit in occasionally consuming corn, I need add but little more about it:

it is somewhat larger than the Carrion Crow, and may easily be distinguished from that bird by the bare space of rough white skin surrounding the base of the beak and on the fore part of the head: as in the young birds these parts are covered with bristly feathers, it has been by some supposed that the constant plunging of the bill into the ground in search of worms and grubs causes the abrasion of these feathers, while others affirm it to be an original peculiarity: and the question is hardly yet satisfactorily settled; "adhuc sub judice lis est," though I am inclined to the latter opinion: the fact however of the existence of the rough skin which serves to distinguish it from its more sable congener, the Carrion Crow, is undoubted: this skin is also very elastic and pliable, and in the spring the Rook may be seen flying home to its nest, with its throat distended with a supply of food for its young, as if in a pouch below the chin, though none such exists.

"Jackdaw" (*Corvus monedula*). This lively bird is as well known as the preceding, with which it lives in the closest alliance, and its active bustling movements, cunning saucy look, and sharp short voice make it a general favorite: wherever the rooks are feeding, there you may invariably see the Jackdaw strutting about with careless jaunty air, and hear its merry saucy chatter: it will also perch, like the starling, on the sheeps back, and for the same friendly laudable purpose. Towers, cliffs, and hollow trees are its general dwelling places, but its favourite haunts seem to be our grandest Cathedrals and largest Colleges, amid the towers and pinnacles of which it loves to nest. Its plumage is greyish black, glossed with blue, green, and purple, with the exception of the hind part of the neck which is light grey.

"Magpie" (*Pica caudata*). Exceedingly handsome with bright burnished plumage, and of very graceful form, the Magpie must claim our admiration, however we may find fault with its mischievous cunning greedy character. To see it flit from tree to tree at a distance, (and it is too shy to suffer a near approach) one might imagine its colours to be simply black and white, and even then we must admire its elegant figure: but to come upon it suddenly, and have a clear view of it in the golden sunshine, one can but

marvel at the reflections of green and purple and blue which shine with metallic brilliancy on its dark plumage, wondrously contrasted with the purest white: its long graduating tail too, which it will sometimes spread like a fan, at other times move up and down, is another ornament, and adds much to its gracefulness. It seems always on the alert for an enemy, and by its loud continuous chattering, gives general warning when danger is near. Though so frequent in all wooded districts, it is rarely to be met with on our downs, and its poaching egg stealing propensities make it no favorite with the gamekeeper: but in Norway it is safe from persecution, being regarded with the utmost superstitious fear rather than reverence, and so it is the very tamest and commonest of birds, scarcely moving out of our way as we passed by, and building its nest in some bush or tree close to a cottage door. Something of the same superstitious feeling appears to have been generally entertained for the Magpie in this country, the remains of which still linger in the following well known lines, signifying the good or ill luck foretold by the number of these birds seen together.

> "One for sorrow, two for mirth,
> Three for a wedding, four for a birth."

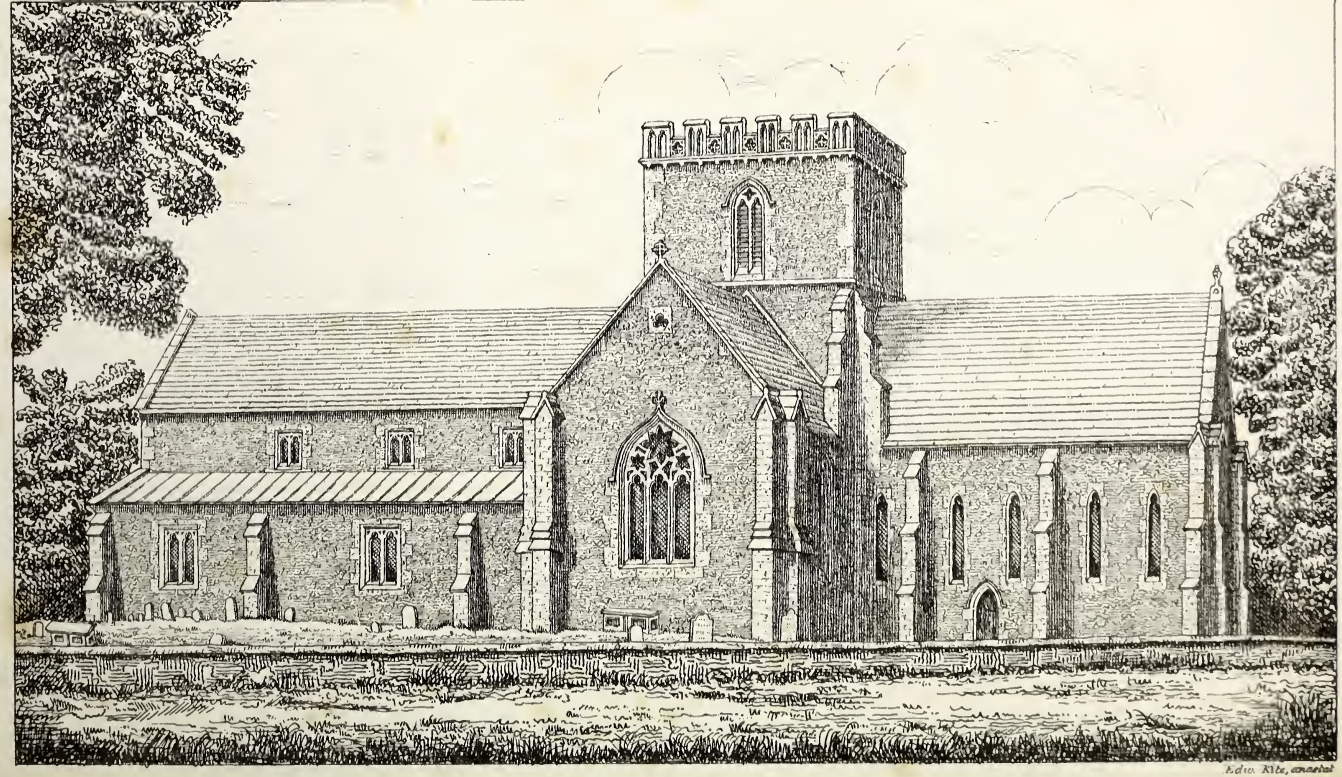
"Jay" *Garrulus* (*glandarius*). This is another shy retiring bird, restless and noisy, of exceeding handsome plumage, and much persecuted by gamekeepers for its mischievous propensities, though gardeners have a better right to complain of its evil deeds, for fruit, rather than young birds and eggs, forms its favorite food: it is however by no means particular whether it satisfies the cravings of appetite with animal or vegetable diet: for its scientific name *glandarius* is not distinctive, as all its congeners and several other genera partake of the acorn with equal avidity with the Jay. It is even a more confirmed chatterer than the Magpie, whence its scientific name *garrulus*, and its note is harsh and grating: its general colour is pale chocolate; but the black and white crest which it can elevate and depress at pleasure; the bright blue, barred with black and white, of its wing coverts; and the contrast of the white patch over the black tail, are its most striking points. It

may be found in almost all woods and plantations throughout the County.

Here we may take leave of the Conirostral Tribe, and we may remark in conclusion how gradually we have been conducted through the Larks and Buntings up to the Finches, some of which display such exceeding power of beak, and live wholly on grain; and so on through the Starlings and Crows down to the Jay, omnivorous feeders as these last are, so that the transition to the next tribe, distinct though it is, will not be so rapid, and we can pass on without much hiatus and almost imperceptibly to the family standing first of the climbers, viz: the Woodpeckers, which we shall find in many points have affinities with those last described.

Alfred Charles Smith.

Yatesbury Rectory, Calne,
March 8th, 1860.



Edw. Rite, del.

GREAT BEDWYN CHURCH, FROM THE SOUTH EAST.

Great Bedwyn.

TILE PAVEMENT IN THE CHURCH.

WE now present to our readers an engraving of the Church of St. Mary at Great Bedwyn, a description of which appeared in our last number. The author, having omitted in the body of his work, to mention the remains of a tile pavement, which once adorned this ancient Church, desires to say a very few words on the subject. There were extant in 1845, about forty patterns of tiles, scattered about the floors of the Church and Chancel, without any order or arrangement, except in this one instance :— Repeated many times round the Chancel as border tiles set against the wall, were two long tiles, 9 inches by 6½, representing on each an equestrian figure in armour, meeting at full speed in deadly strife. On one tile, was a Knight bearing on his shield the well known templar's cross, and wielding in his right hand an upraised sword, which would not have disgraced a Longespee ; on the other, a Saracen holding with one hand a curved shield fitting close to the chest, and in the other a long lance poised for action in a horizontal position. This pair of tiles is engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1845 : and by the kindness of Mr. J. G. Nichols is now presented before our readers.

There were several separated tiles, inserted in different parts of the Chancel floor, which when brought together and placed in

order, formed a large design of sixteen tiles, 22 inches square, representing within an ornamented circle a quatrefoil with cusps branched out into flowers and leaves, filling up the centre. This pattern, which as far as has been discovered, is unique, is, with several others from Bedwyn, represented in Shaw's very beautiful "Specimens of Tile Pavements." About twelve other specimens found at Great Bedwyn and generally in the west of England, were figured by the Rev. The Lord Alwyne Compton, Rector of Castle Ashby, and printed by him on loose sheets of paper comprising many patterns and some borders, for the purpose of assisting Ecclesiologists in arranging designs for pavements, and of shewing at once their effect.

Of the remaining tiles at Bedwyn which have not been engraved, there were several bearing the royal insignia of lions and fleurs de lis variously combined, and, in one instance, were two lioncels rampant indorsed, with a sceptre terminated with a fleur de lis, running up between them. There were also many copies of a tile representing a castle, which may have been intended for the Arms, either of Eleanor of Castile, or of the Borough of Great Bedwyn. The fret of Hugh de Audley was often repeated, but the De Clare coat, so commonly found in large Churches with which that powerful family had any connection, did not occur here: Gilbert de Clare however, the last male of the family, died in 1313, that is, not long after the rebuilding of the whole portion of the Church, east of the nave.

J. W.

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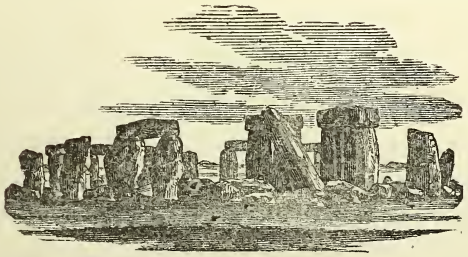
Published under the Direction

OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY,

A.D. 1853.



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*** The Numbers of this Magazine will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscription: and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

NOTICE.

Among several articles exhibited by Edward W. Godwin, Esq. of Bristol, in the Temporary Museum formed during the Society's Meeting at Chippenham in September, 1855, two objects, viz: "*the outer leaf of a set of waxed tablets, carved in low relief, representing the Nativity*," and "*a fragment of a mediæval dish of glazed ware, of highly ornamented character*," were, by some accident, either mislaid, or returned among similar specimens belonging to another contributor. Although every enquiry has been made, the Committee regret to add that the missing specimens have not been found; but it is sincerely hoped that by means of this more public notice they may be restored to their proper owner.

ABURY ILLUSTRATED.

By the kindness of William Long, Esq., of Bath, some copies of his Account of "Abury Illustrated," printed in the IVth vol. of this Magazine, have been placed at the disposal of the Society. To the Article as it originally appeared have since been added various Addenda and Notes, a Sequel, some Corrigenda, and Fac-similes of John Aubrey's Plans of the monument. The whole complete, in 4to, 5s. 6d.: in 8vo, 3s. 6d. Apply to Mr. H. Bull, Bookseller, Devizes.

THE

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WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

THE SEVENTH GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society,

HELD AT SWINDON,

Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, 15th, 16th, and 17th August, 1860.

PRESIDENT OF THE MEETING,

THE RT. HON. T. H. S. SOTHERON ESTCOURT, M.P., D.C.L.

ON Wednesday 15th August, the Society assembled for its Seventh General Meeting at the Town-Hall, Swindon. The chair was taken by the RT. HON. T. H. S. SOTHERON ESTCOURT, M.P. at half past one o'clock.

Mr. ESTCOURT, after reviewing the operations of the Society from the time of its formation, proceeded to observe that the principal reason for selecting Swindon as the place of meeting for the present year was, that it was a part of the county with which, as yet, the Society had had no contact. Situated, as it was, at the north-eastern part of the county—at a distance from those remarkable objects of antiquarian lore with which the name of Wiltshire was associated in all parts of the world—the mysterious monuments at Avebury and Stonehenge—he was rejoiced that for once they were certain to escape from theories, and to fix their minds upon a nation and upon records of history of a later date, with which he confessed he felt a stronger sympathy than he did with the ancient Britons. On passing that morning through the wonderful circles at Avebury —on looking at those wonderful stones, at that wonderful mound

standing near—he said to himself, "My old friends, you have been known many a year, and therefore your day must be put off: we are going to look after the Saxons. You are erected by a people we know not who, for a purpose we know not what, and at a period we know not when—you have been the peg upon which all kinds of disquisition, and every description of speculation have been hung;—this very year there has appeared in one of our most known periodicals a paper giving you a Buddhist origin, and I dare say next year somebody else may find out some other source of your wonders. Therefore you must permit us on this occasion to meet at Swindon and talk about the Saxons." Here, then, they were assembled on the very borders of Alfred's kingdom—the borders of Wessex—as near, at all events, as it was once safe to live, because the line of demarcation, along which the great fights took place, was not more than ten miles to the north of the town. Passing from Bath, it ran a little along the Cotswolds, it circled through Berkshire, and this spot being high and elevated in those days, it was probably well fortified. If therefore they cast their eyes northward, eastward, or westward, they would have the satisfaction of fixing their eyes upon a people with whom we must have a deep sympathy, from whom we had derived many of our institutions, and whose records we should do well to search, because they were trustworthy and not merely of a theoretical description. With regard to the Society, he said, speaking for himself, he was sure it had far exceeded in its results anything which he expected would have been the case when a meeting for its formation was held at Devizes seven years ago. The great work of the Society had been its Magazine, and he ventured to defy all the counties in England to produce a work of a similar character, containing so much that was interesting and trustworthy. Besides the Secretaries and the Committee, the Society was under great obligations to the Clergy throughout the county. The Bishop of Salisbury had, from the first, shown a very strong desire to further that particular study which it was the business of the Society to foster. It was a most fortunate thing that, at a period he knew not when, our land was divided into parishes; and it was also a

fortunate thing, in his opinion, that the records of those parishes had been so well preserved for at least the last three centuries; and if we went further, we should find in the public records collected in London and elsewhere a great deal to throw light upon what had happened in our different parishes. Some years ago, he had occasion to pay a visit at the Rolls Chapel to Sir Francis Palgrave—a name which could never be mentioned at a meeting of this description without honor—and Sir Francis on that occasion said to him, I will undertake to give you something of a contemporaneous record with regard to every event in English History worth caring about since the Conquest. He (Mr. Estcourt) asked him a question as to something which happened in the time of Henry the Eighth. But his reply was, I know nothing of English history later than the accession of Henry the Seventh, which showed how much his whole attention had been directed to ancient history. The reason why we in England possessed such a magnificent and unbroken collection of old records was that no enemy had ever come to spoil us. Whatever there was worth putting by in succeeding generations we had got, and no man had ever laid a revolutionary hand upon it. It was more than could be said of any other capital or nation in the world. Every little addition that could be made to information of this kind, it seemed to him was worthy of the notice of a thinking people.—He believed it was Dr. Johnson who said, in Rasselas, "whatever makes the past or the future predominant in the mind of man over the present, elevates him as a thinking being." No doubt what might be found recorded in an old parochial history might have been considered at the moment of no more value than the incidents of parochial history at the present moment. It was their antiquity which gave them their value. They might have appeared trifling at the moment, but if they enabled us to decipher matter of real moment and real importance they could not but acquire a value in the eyes of thinking persons, of a different description to that which they originally bore. But he claimed for this Society something more. He claimed for it, that it was not merely a theoretical, speculative, or even an intellectual body, but he claimed for its proceedings

something of a moral and a patriotic character. When we were called upon as we were at the present moment occasionally to make sacrifices for the sake of our country, for the sake of our homes and of our parishes, surely it was something to know that similar sacrifices had been required of those who had gone before—that similar stirring scenes had taken place—that there had been similar apprehensions of an invasion—and similar gatherings together of the people to defend their hearths and their homes. No man could walk over the plains of Marathon and Thermopylæ—no man could tread the plains of Morgarten or Sempach, among the Swiss valleys —no man could cross the fields of Cressy and Poictiers, without having his soul stirred up to do and endure far more than he had previously been inclined to do. His blood boiled as much as if he had taken part in the strifes of those days. And so it was now. He contended that the Society was contributing a great deal towards keeping alive that which would be to ourselves and to those who came after, not only a record of the past, but an encouragement to do and act a part worthy of the name we bore. In this grand Volunteer movement which was now going on, there was an emulation. No doubt love of country was the principle which was at the bottom; but that which stirred us up and encouraged us to do our best was emulation between man and man. But there was also an emulation between generation and generation, and that was the business which had called them together on this occasion. They wanted to fill their minds with a knowledge, not merely of the general outline, but of the details of the suffering and work which took place in this country years and years ago, and having done so, he was sure that there was no man who would not be rather encouraged to do anything which might be required of him for the sake of his country. The traces of the Normans, the Saxons, and others long gone by, shewed us that our ancestors had to encounter foes, to endure numerous privations, and to make sacrifices for that one cause—the love of country; and therefore he did claim for the Society that besides its being in the highest degree a society of men desirous of cultivating a superior order of intellectual research, their work was not altogether thrown away

as moral beings, as Englishmen, and as Christians, and that it often afforded encouragement to us to proceed in the course which our duty pointed out as belonging to us.

The right hon. gentleman then called upon the Rev. A. C. Smith (one of the Secretaries) to read the report.

REPORT for 1860.

"The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society has again the satisfaction of congratulating its members on the continued prosperity of the Society, the number of names now on its books, amounting to 391, being a slight increase since last year, and that notwithstanding our loss by death, withdrawal, or removal from the county of no less than 15 of our former members.

"Among these, the recent death of one of the most active of our body seems to call forth special regret on the part of the Society; indeed it would be impossible to pass over in silence the grievous loss we have sustained in Mr. Carrington: he was from the first a sincere and steady friend to the Society; he thoroughly enjoyed the pursuits and the researches connected with Wiltshire history, was very diligent in instituting them, and as invariably to be depended on, as ready even at personal inconvenience and sacrifice of time and trouble, to assist others. Those who were present at the Marlborough meeting last year, will not soon forget how greatly it was indebted to him for the lively and good-humoured spirit that prevailed throughout; and the readers of the Wiltshire Magazine will regret the discontinuance of the lighter and amusing articles by which he so often assisted the public in the digestion of its more solid contents.

"With regard to the financial position of the Society, your Committee must again, though with great reluctance, call your attention to the amount of subscriptions in arrear and unpaid, the former amounting to £85, the latter to £95; in all £180. It will readily be seen that this deficiency must operate to the serious injury of the Society, as well as to the embarrassment of your Committee, and they appeal earnestly to those now in arrear not to

injure the Society by their negligence. This is the more to be deplored, for if the Society were not hampered by these arrears, its receipts would be fully equal to its expenditure.

"We pass on now to the Wiltshire Magazine, of which the sixth volume is just completed, and which, we submit, contains articles on the topography, past and natural history of the county, which will bear comparison with similar publications of kindred County Societies; but whatever degree of merit it may have, is without doubt in great measure due to the able superintendence and unremitting exertions of the Rev. Canon Jackson, to whom the Society is most deeply indebted, for this the principal part of its labours.

"Another very important and indeed primary object of the Society has occupied a great deal of the attention of your Committee since last year, viz.: the erection of a Museum and Library suited to the requirements and worthy of so important a Society. Hitherto our Archæological and Natural History Collections have been deposited in a room temporarily hired for the purpose at Devizes, where they have been open to the daily inspection of members: but it will be in your recollection that one of the principal objects which the Society had in view from the first, was (by Rule I.) 'to preserve by the formation of a Library and Museum, illustrations of the history of the county, viz., published works, MSS., drawings, models and specimens," and (by Rule VI.) it was resolved that such collections "be deposited at Devizes," as the most central town in the county. The importance of carrying out that object was early impressed upon us by one who has from the first, most kindly and perseveringly encouraged us and guided our career, and whose advice we of this Society especially value, our excellent first President (Mr. P. Scrope), in his Inaugural Address: and from that time to this, the permanent establishment of a central county Library and Museum of Antiquities and Specimens of Natural History has been continually under the consideration of your Committee, as may be seen by the Annual Reports of past years. Those who take the trouble to examine those Reports will have seen how steadily the Society has advanced year by year from its formation, continuing to attract within its ranks the more intelligent gentlemen of the

county, as it presented itself more prominently to the notice of those residing near any of the localities it has hitherto visited in its Annual Congress: they will also see on what grounds your Committee promulgate their opinion, that the Society having proved itself to be no ephemeral development of a passing fancy, but to be firmly rooted in the county, the time has now arrived when efforts may be made for securing its permanence, strengthening its powers, and accomplishing one of its principal intentions, by building such a Museum and Library as shall be adequate for the Collections already rapidly accumulating, and which your Committee have confident expectations will be considerably enriched, when a more permanent as well as more suitable place of deposit is provided. Fully impressed with this conviction your Committee has been engaged in considering the best means of accomplishing their object, and though they are not prepared at the present moment to lay any distinct proposal before you, yet they are happy to state that the scheme which has been suggested to some of the more influential gentlemen of the county has met with the warmest encouragement, and with offers of very liberal donations towards its completion, which your Committee trust will be met with like liberality on the part of members generally, and for which they would beseech your co-operation and support when the time comes.

It remains only to thank those who have during the past year contributed to our collections; among whom we would especially mention Mr. Blackwell and Captain Gladstone, each of whom has presented above seventy bird skins to the Museum: the Bishop of Brisbane, who has largely added to our Geological collections: and Mr. Darby Griffith, who has added sundry volumes to the Library: besides others who in a smaller way have enriched our Museum with many valuable additions.

And here again we may congratulate ourselves that the intention of the Society seems now to be thoroughly understood; and as its object is now known to be solely the collection of information relating to the Archæology and Natural History of Wiltshire, with a view to the completion of a history of the County, it has met with universal support, sympathy and good will on all sides, pro-

voking neither jealousy on the one hand, nor apathy on the other, (the day for ridicule of such pursuits as it has in view being happily gone by); and the Committee desires here once for all to express its hearty thanks for the cordial co-operation and the ready attention and liberality it has so universally met with, not only from those already enrolled among its adherents, but also from others of all ranks and classes hitherto unconnected with the Society."

The Rev. Canon Jackson, at the invitation of the Right Hon. Chairman, then proceeded to read a paper on the History of Swindon and its neighbourhood.

At the close of the paper, there being still some little time to spare before the hour appointed for the dinner, the company separated into two parties; one, under the direction of Mr. Moore F.G.S. and Mr. W. Cunnington, proceeded to explore the Swindon quarries, and the other to inspect the various articles of interest composing the temporary Museum, formed in the room in which the meeting had been held.

THE DINNER.

The Society's Dinner took place at the Goddard Arms Hotel. Two haunches of venison were presented by the Marquis of Ailesbury, and Mr. Westmacott seemed to have spared neither trouble nor expense to provide for his guests. Seventy-five ladies and gentlemen sat down, including the majority of those who attended the general meeting. The chair was occupied by the Right Hon. T. H. S. Estcourt.

After the usual loyal toasts; in the course of a reply to that of the Bishops and Clergy, the Rev. Prebendary Fane said that he happened to be the Treasurer of the Diocesan Church Building Society, and he would make bold to say that the interests of the Church and the interests of this Archæological Society were absolutely synonymous terms, the great field of inquiry and research for archæologists being, in reality, among our churches. There were, at this moment, in the Diocese of Salisbury, as many as 40 churches either under restoration or requiring immediate attention; and when he mentioned that many others might be added to the

list—when he spoke of archæologists who felt a pride in noble capital and lofty roof, and the remains of antiquity which existed in our churches though in a crumbling state, he was sure they would sympathise with him, as the Treasurer of that Society, when he said he hailed with pleasure the formation of an Archæological Society as an instrument for stirring up zeal, and bringing the eye of science and of intellect to search into those noble fabrics which stood forth as the proudest monuments of our land. He begged, therefore, to express his heartfelt acknowledgments to this Society for the incalculable good which it had already effected. He would say that for the good the Society had done in drawing the attention of all parties, perfectly irrespective of the religious principle, to the subject of church architecture they, as ministers of the church, owed *it* infinite obligations. As was once pleasantly remarked of John Lilburne—when he could quarrel with nobody else, John would quarrel with Lilburne, and Lilburne with John; so he, as an archæologist and a minister thanked himself as an archæologist for the good he had done as a minister, and as a minister for the good he had done as an archæologist. He trusted that ministers of the church and archæologists would continue to work together, and that through this Society calling the attention of those who ought to take a warm interest in the subject, to the work of decay which had been going on for centuries past, the zeal and energy of the present day would lead to many other churches being restored to their proper order and splendour.

The company then acknowledged with much satisfaction the names of the Marquis of Lansdowne the Patron of the Society, Horatio Nelson Goddard Esq. the High Sheriff of the County, and Ambrose Lethbridge Goddard Esq. M.P.

The Chairman then gave the health of Mr. Poulett Scrope, who for three years discharged the duties of President. The toast was most cordially received.

Mr. Poulett Scrope, having been connected with the foundation of the Society, was naturally much gratified at witnessing the successful results of its operations. Its objects were most interesting and instructive, but they had just been reminded by the speech of

Mr. Fane that one of the principal of them was limited in point of duration, for if the progress of church-building and church-restoration continued to be so rapid as it had lately been, there would soon be no old churches for them to examine. He proposed the health of the Rev. Canon Jackson, one of their Secretaries, and the Editor of the Society's Magazine.

The Rev. Canon Jackson said his brother Secretaries had taken a share in the management of the Magazine, and he should be sorry to deprive them of a share of the praise. Notwithstanding seven years' work in endeavouring to discover the past history of the county, much still remained to be investigated, and he feared that the history of some places was past investigation. That, however, was not their fault; it was the fault of those who had gone before.

The Chairman was sure they were not so destitute of gratitude as to think of passing over the colleagues of Mr. Jackson, although he had been singled out for particular notice. He begged, therefore, at once to propose the health of Mr. Lukis and Mr. Smith, and he would also couple with that toast the health of the Local Secretaries and the Local Committee, whose arrangements had been of the most satisfactory character.

The Rev. W. C. Lukis having returned thanks on behalf of all the gentlemen referred to, would say one word with reference to the Society. He really believed that it had already done a very good work in this county. Even if nothing more had been done than the publication of the articles which had appeared in the Magazine, he thought they would have reason to feel well satisfied. But besides the instructions conveyed by those articles on many points of local history, the annual gatherings of the Society had tended to excite in the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods in which they were held, a more than temporary interest in the works of nature and art, in the remains of antiquity, and in the biographies of remarkable men. Such, in fact, was the object set before them when the Society was first established. The then President, Mr. Poulett Scrope, in his opening address in 1853, said that "archæology, the pursuit of which we are uniting to promote, is the study of antiquities not for the mere gratification of an unreasoning

curiosity, but with the view of bringing it to bear upon and illustrate history, and more especially local history or topography." Now he ventured to say that this object had been kept in view ever since, in proof of which he had only to point to the parochial histories of Chippenham, Kington St. Michael, Bradford-on-Avon, Broughton Gifford, Bishop's Cannings, and he might now add, Swindon. He hoped they would be animated and encouraged in the production of similar histories throughout the county, for if they kept this object steadily in view the Society would advance in years without losing anything of its original vitality and vigour.

"The Magistrates of the County" was the next toast, with which was coupled the name of Mr. Matcham, who, the Chairman said, knew more of the archæology of the county than most of those present.

Mr. Matcham, after expressing his regret that Sir John Awdry had not been called on to respond, proceeded jocularly to remark that if he was an antiquarian at all it was principally on account of his age. Still he might say that he had a great love for archæological pursuits, and should continue to have to the end of the chapter. He was sorry that he had not been able to contribute to the pages of the Magazine, but the fact was he had shot his bolt in his own immediate neighbourhood before this Society was formed. Mr. Estcourt then gave the health of the ladies, with thanks to them for their attendance, and called upon the Rev. W. H. Jones to respond.

The Rev. W. H. Jones humourously acknowledged the compliment, and the company separated to prepare for the

CONVERSAZIONE.

The company shortly afterwards re-assembled at the Town-Hall, where the Rev. W. C. Lukis read a Paper, prepared by Professor Donaldson, on "Wayland Smith's Cromlech."

The Rev. W. H. Jones, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon, then read a Paper on "Lord Clarendon and his Trowbridge Ancestry."

Professor Buckman had been announced to present some interesting features in the geology of Swindon, but in his unavoidable

absence Mr. Cunnington briefly described the peculiarities of the district; and Mr. Moore gave an account of the most remarkable fossils which had been found there, as well as as a description of some singular discoveries which he had lately made upon the borders of Wiltshire, near Frome; and which have recently been brought before the meeting of the British Association at Oxford. It appears that Mr. Moore found in a small cleft in the mountain limestone a deposit of sand belonging to the triass—a series of formations hitherto almost unknown in this country. The extent of the deposit was only about three cubic yards, and the whole of this Mr. Moore had removed to his residence at Bath, that he might give it a deliberate examination. The result was, that he discovered the remains of three species of mammalia, hitherto quite unknown, and including a species of Microlestes, a marsupial animal allied to those now found living in Australia; and a vast quantity of the teeth of many extinct species of fish and animals of the lizard tribe.

SECOND DAY. THURSDAY, August 16th.

An excursion was made to Liddington Castle, visiting Liddington Church, Wanborough Church, and Liddington Manor House. Thence to Wayland's Smith Cave, where a discussion took place as to the origin of this remarkable antiquity. Thence to White Horse Hill and Uffington Castle; the Blowing Stone at Kingston Lisle, and the beautiful Church at Uffington.

The return home being late, it was nearly nine o'clock before Mr. Poulett Scrope commenced his account of "The Discovery of Roman Remains at North Wraxhall." For many years past a field at that place had been known as "The Coffin Field," from the fact of a Roman stone coffin having been turned up in the course of the tillage of the land; and last year Mr. Scrope obtained permission from the proprietor (Lord Methuen) to examine the ground more fully. The result had been the discovery of the remains of a very complete Roman Villa, with its outbuildings, boundary walls and cemetery, entire. The hypocaust, or apparatus for hot bathing, is probably the most complete that has been discovered in this country, and exhibits a good example of what the hot baths of the

Romans, as described by Tacitus, were. The floors of these rooms were supported on stout pillars formed of square tiles, beneath which flues for conveying the hot air passed. The rooms were so constructed that persons might go from those of a low temperature to those which were much hotter, and subsequently retire through rooms gradually reduced to the ordinary heat. No chimneys were discovered, and it is probable that much of the smoke from the flues escaped into the rooms above. The most interesting discovery in this Villa, however, was an ornament, consisting of two large boar's tusks, fastened together in a crescent form by means of a sculptured bronze setting. The purpose for which this ornament had been used was for some time unknown, until Mr. J. Y. Akerman (of the Antiquarian Society) produced an ornament of precisely similar character, which is to the present day worn upon the breasts of the horses of the Arab Chiefs—its purpose serving, as they suppose, to avert the evil eye. Mr. Scrope adduced quotations from Silius Italicus and another classic author in which this kind of ornament is alluded to—in the one instance, as suspended from the neck of a favorite deer; in the other, as hung round the neck of a horse; and a remarkable confirmation of its use occurs in a sculpture on Trajan's Column at Rome, where the charger of the Emperor is represented with this crescent-shaped ornament suspended upon its chest. Another very interesting discovery was also made in the cemetery attached to this Villa. Three separate modes of burial were observed:—In one, the body was buried entire in a stone coffin; in another, it was buried in the ground without a coffin; and in the third, it had been burnt, and the ashes deposited in a hollow cavity carved in a large block of stone. The lecture throughout excited much interest.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, Mr. Cunnington's Paper on the "Mineral Springs of Wiltshire" was obliged to be deferred.

THIRD DAY. FRIDAY, August 17th.

This morning there was another excursion: the first point of attraction being Highworth Church, a curious old barn, and other objects of interest in that locality. Thence to Hannington Hall

where refreshments had been provided by Captain Willes Johnson, who courteously threw open the house and received the party in the most hospitable manner.

From Hannington the excursionists proceeded to Kempsford and Castle Eaton, and thence to Cricklade, where the Church of St. Sampson was inspected. Time would not allow of a visit to the Church of St. Mary; and the party passed on to Purton, where a substantial lunch awaited them in the Pavilion on the cricket ground, and to which as many as sixty sat down, under the presidency of Major Prower. The examination of the interesting Church at Lydiard closed the excursion, and with it one of the most successful meetings which the Society has held.

By the courteous permission of W. F. Gooch, Esq., the works connected with the locomotive department at New Swindon were open to the inspection of members of the Society during the meeting: and the Committee of the Swindon Literary Institute were also so obliging as to place their rooms at its service.

For kindly charging themselves with the trouble that always devolves on those who undertake the local arrangements of the General Meetings, the Society desires to express its thanks to the Rev. H. G. Baily, Vicar of Swindon; J. C. Townsend, Esq., George Alexander, Esq. of Westrop House, and the Rev. E. Meyrick of Chisledon.

A List of Articles Exhibited

IN THE

TEMPORARY MUSEUM AT THE TOWN-HALL, SWINDON,

August 15*th*, 16*th*, *and* 17*th*, 1860.

Those marked with an Asterisk have been presented to the Society.

By A. L. Goddard, Esq., *Swindon* :—

A bronze figure in relief of the Trusty Servant from the kitchen in Winchester College. A miniature on copper with arms of Goddard. A brass circular seal bearing "on a bend three cups" and the legend "S. Henrice Goddard" found in Sandhill Park, near Taunton. An ancient carving in cedar. An antique wine glass, mounted in gold. A collection of English and Continental coins and medals. A guinea of William III., found on one of the arches of Swindon Old Church when pulled down. Pair of Indian pistols; German steel cross-bow, &c. A card about six inches long by four inches deep engraved by Gutterlane, and having a border of twelve shields, bearing the arms of various branches of the Goddard family in Wiltshire, Leicestershire, Cheshire, Lincolnshire, Kent, and other counties; and in the centre the following inscription :—

"There is a friendly Meeting
of those whose Sr Names be
GODDARD.
Sr your Company is loueingly desyered only for
Societie and Acquaintance.
The times of Meeting are the 5th day of every month in ye yeare, except it be Sunday, then on ye day following, from Ladeyday to Michaelmas at 6, *from Michaelmas to Ladeyday at* 4 *o'clock in the afternoone——At the Red-bull behind St. Nicholas Shambles called*
Mount Goddard Streete.

By James Bradford, Esq. :—

An ancient Deed—License from Edward III. to the Abbey of St. Karilephs? to transfer the Manor of Covenham to the Abbey of Kirkstede, Co. Lincoln. The Great Seal appended to this Deed was in a rare state of preservation. Bishop Godwin's Catalogue of the Bishops of England, 1615.

By Major Prower, *Purton* :—

Piece of the Waistcoat (satin richly embroidered) worn by Charles I. when he was beheaded. An heir-loom in the Elton family. A Silver Snuff-box, with Bust of Queen Anne.[1]

[1] Subsequently to the Battle of Blenheim a deputation of Noblemen from the West of England attended at Court to congratulate Queen Anne on the victory which had been achieved by the British Army. Each Nobleman took with him three of his principal tenants, to each of whom a silver snuff box similar to the one here exhibited, was presented by the Queen.

By Rev. H. Light, *Wroughton*:—

An Illuminated German MS., perfect, and in an excellent state of preservation. "Light of Britain," by Henry Lyte, of Lytes-Cary, 1588, and "Lyte's Herbal," folio 1578; two works by an ancestor of Mr. Light.

By Rev. E. Meyrick, *Chisledon*:—

Specimens of bearded and broad arrow, Glaive and Iron Spear-head from Hillwood, Aldbourne Chase. Portion of horse-shoe and iron knife, found at Badbury Castle. Five medals struck in honour of the capture of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon, found at Chiseldon. [When the buildings known as the "Old Work-house," at Swindon, were pulled down a short time since, a medal struck in honour of Admiral Vernon, and condemnatory of the policy of Sir Robert Walpole was found. It differs somewhat from those exhibited by Mr. Meyrick]. A coloured sketch of a remarkable Parhelion, seen at Chiseldon on Monday, June 25th, 1860, at 5.30 p.m.

By Mr. Moore, F.R.G.S., *Bath*:—

A case of organic remains, consisting of 45,000 teeth of Acrodus, Scales of Lepidotus, Gyrolepis, &c. Fish and reptilian vertebræ. Teeth of Saurichthys Placodus, Lepidotus, Hybodus, and other fishes and reptiles, extracted from three square yards of Triassic earth.

By Mr. W. F. Pratt, *Wootton Basset*;—

Original Charter of Charles II. to the Borough of Wootton Basset bearing date 2nd December, 1679. This document which is in excellent preservation had by some accident migrated into North Wales, where it was found about two years since amongst other old papers, and presented to the Corporation of Wootton Basset by Meiler Owen, Esq., of Goppa, Co. Denbigh. Besides confirming to the Borough all its former privileges it conferred many additional ones, some of which have fallen into disuse. A more ancient Charter (according to a Petition presented to the House of Commons, during the Commonwealth) was in existence, under which the inhabitants had the privilege of turning cattle in Fasterne Great Park, containing 2000 acres, "without stint, be they never so many." This Charter, it seems, was kept from the town by Sir Francis Englefield, Knight, who had a grant of the Manor temp. Philip and Mary, and enclosed nearly the whole of the park; and subsequently the remaining portion (about 100 acres) was also enclosed. The present Charter was obtained through the influence of Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, a reward as it is said, for the loyalty of the town during the Civil War.

By Mr. W. F. Parsons, *Wootton Basset*:—

* Deed relating to Lands, &c., at Wootten Basset temp. Queen Elizabeth. Also some interesting papers relative to the formation of a Volunteer Corps in Wootton Basset in 1803, including the speech of the Mayor on the occasion.

By T. Bruges Flower, Esq., *Bath*:—

Coloured drawing by Miss Hay, of a specimen of Tulipa sylvestris (wild Tulip) found at Wootton Rivers by William Bartlett, Esq.

By Mr. Horsell, *Wootton Basset*:—

Three iron spurs and gun lock, found at Winterbourne Basset.

By Mr. W. Vaughan Edwards, *Swindon*:—

Antique drinking Goblet, supposed of Indian workmanship, of Rhinoceros horn, with silver foot. Embroidered bed furniture on home-spun linen.

By Mrs. Tarrant, *Swindon*:—

Part of Fossil Tree, 15 feet in length, from Swindon quarry. Two specimens of Ammonites Giganteus.

By Mr. Townsend, *Swindon*:—

Collection of Fossils from the Portland stone, Oxford clay and chalk. Antler of red deer from Braden Forest; and a silver drinking cup (16th century.)

By Mr. W. Mathews:—

Two specimens of the hobby hawk (falco subbuteo).

By Rev. G. A. Goddard, *Cliffe Pypard*:—

Two bellarmines, or long-beards, from under Cliffe Vicarage House. Nine Ancient British gold coins. Bronze celts, keys, rings, watch, and an apostle spoon inscribed "W. S. nat: fuit 26 die May 1636."

By Rev. S. Etty, *Wanborough*:—

* Rubbings from brasses at Wanborough and Chiseldon: also from a curious inscription to Anne Smyth (1719) at Little Hinton.

By Mr. W. Morris, *Swindon*:—

A collection of Wiltshire mosses (40 specimens). Case containing 600 specimens of Fossils illustrating the geology of Swindon and the district. A collection of 3000 specimens of Fossils from the various strata in Europe. A spear head (iron) 15 inches in length, from a barrow near Wootton Basset. A quantity of Roman pottery. Roman coins and ornaments and Wiltshire tokens.

By G. Poulett Scrope, Esq., M.P., *Castle Combe*;—

A case containing pottery, glass, stucco, coins, and various Roman remains, discovered in a villa at North Wraxhall, Wilts. [See p. 59, of the present volume].

By Rev. C. Soames, *Mildenhall*:—

Bronze Musical instrument, and a large collection of Roman Pottery, including mortaria and other vessels of grey, yellow, and Samian ware, some richly embossed, and bearing the names of Bonoxvs, Tittivs, and other potters found in the lists given by Birch in his "History of Ancient Pottery." One of the vessels, a ciborium, of Samian ware, appears to have been rivetted with lead as described by Birch. These articles were discovered in what appears to have been a well, situated in Black Field, at Mildenhall, near Marlborough. The well has been opened to the depth of 25 feet, but the borer indicates that the bottom has not been reached by at least several feet. It is not faced with any material, but has been dug through the chalky sub-soil; and filled up with fragments of pottery, bricks, tiles, clinkers, charcoal, bones of all sorts of domestic animals, and of birds, with shells of the oyster and muscle. The fragments of pottery comprise portions of more than 50 different vessels of the red or Samian ware, together with numberless others of the commoner sort. The field in which the well is situated is near the supposed site of the ancient Roman station of Lower Cunetio, aud is noted for the quantity of Roman coins which have been found in it, besides bricks, tiles, and stones evidently used for building. Another cavity in the ground, apparently the upper part of another well, faced with large stones, has been discovered about forty yards from the former one, which it is also proposed to open for the purpose of investigating its contents.

By Rev. T. Cornthwaite, *Walthamstow*:—

Impression of ring taken from the finger of Martin Luther at his death. Celtic sling stones. Portions of chain armour, from a railway cutting near Canterbury. Russian Triptych, Reliquary, and artificial Egg, with painting of St. Nicholas, usually presented to friends at Easter. Mummy lizard, Greek arrow heads, &c.

By Rev. G. May, *Liddington*:—

A number of coins and Roman remains, found at Wanborough and Liddington.

By G. Alexander, Esq., *Highworth*:—

A collection of Nubian shields, dresses, purse, charms, spear heads, knives, &c.

By Mr. Cunnington, *Devizes*:—

Fossil fish from the Purbeck beds, including Lepidotus minor, Microdon radiatus, and Lepidotus major. Ammonites giganteus, Ammonites biplex, Trigonia gibbosa, Cardium dissimile, Isastrea oblonga, from Portland Stone, Tisbury; also a case of other fossils from the Portland and Purbeck beds of Wiltshire. Hawkins's Diagram of "Struggles for life among British animals in Antediluvian times" with notes referring to Wiltshire species.

In addition to the articles above enumerated there was a valuable collection of coins, Roman remains, &c., from the Society's Museum at Devizes; and also a collection of Fossils from the Oxford clay formation, contributed by Mr. W. Cunnington, of Devizes. The walls were also hung with a number of drawings, by G. Poulett Scrope, of various tumuli, of the excavations at North Wraxhall, and rubbings of brasses, &c., &c.

Swindon and its Neighbourhood.

By the Rev. J. E. Jackson, M.A., F.S.A.

THE Town of Old Swindon stands upon a hill a little in advance of the northern escarpment of the Wiltshire chalk downs. The hill consists of three or four strata, one of them yielding the whitish building and paving stone known in Geology as the Portland rock; so called because the quarries where that stone is best known are in the Isle of Portland. Swindon is one of the very few places in North Wilts where it is visible, but it probably lies near the surface not far off. It seems to have been known in early times, for a few months ago an ancient vault was laid open in the town, bearing strong marks of Saxon architecture: and the roof of that vault was of Swindon stone. Upon the *plains* near Swindon are found, of various sizes, many of the grey grit stones known by the name of Greywethers. Generally, these are found lying on the surface of the chalk, their original position: but here they have somehow found their way down to the oolitic plains in advance of the chalk hills. It was from stones of this kind that the greater part of our famous Antiquities at Abury and Stonehenge were constructed. Dr. Maton says that a large block of Greywether, 12 feet by 8 feet, is in Burderop Wood, and that with the Greywethers sometimes are intermingled blocks of siliceous conglomerate, called Hertfordshire pudding-stone.

About 200 years ago, as we know from an eye-witness, John Aubrey, there was one of these large stones standing up in monumental position in a field on Broome Farm, just behind the town; and in another enclosure near it there was a row of smaller stones. Every one of these has disappeared, but their site was probably on that part of Broome Farm which is, or lately was, called the Long-stone Fields. Broomo Farm itself was anciently the property of the Alien Priory of Martigny in the upper valley of the Rhone.

At the Reformation it was granted to Edward Seymour, the Protector, Duke of Somerset. From his descendants it passed, by the marriage of one of the ladies, to the Wyndhams, Earls of Egremont, from whose family it was purchased by the father of its present owner, Mr. Goddard.

The Camps.

Of these there are four at no great distance, and they stand nearly at four points of a square; Swindon lying centrally among them: two on the south, Badbury, *alias* Liddington Castle, and Barbury: two on the north, Blunsdon, and Ringsbury, near Purton.

Of their history, when and by whom, made, attacked or defended, nothing is known. Some Antiquaries, like Dr. Stukeley, have amused themselves and misled us, by giving names to Wiltshire camps, calling this "Vespasian's" and that "Chlorus's." There is no real evidence for such nomenclature; and without a great deal of speculation, perhaps no one particular event can be identified with any one of them.

So far as an Antiquary could describe them, they have been described in the great work on "Ancient Wiltshire" by Sir R. C. Hoare; but the idea sometimes occurs to one that full justice will not be done to these intrenchments until they have been surveyed by an eye that has been trained to the subject of military fortification. They may have been constructed in times inferior in many ways to our own; but a good deal more of professional skill than we are apt to give those times credit for must have been required, to choose throughout this whole country proper points for defence, and then to defend each point properly.

Roads.

There are some very ancient roads in the neighbourhood, but as none of them seem to have passed directly through Swindon, it is probable that the town has come into existence since they were formed. A Roman road or street runs nearly quite straight for many miles, from Cirencester by Stratton (which takes its name,

Street-town, from that circumstance) to a place called Nythe Bridge, somewhere near the line of the railway, and then onwards past Wanborough to the Ogbournes and Newbury. At Nythe Bridge, a second Roman road forked off towards Marlborough. The name of Nythe is the present form of the Latin word *Nidum*, and Sir R. C. Hoare considers that there was a station there, at what is now called Covenham Farm.

Of "Nidum" Sir R. C. Hoare says: "Mr. Carpenter, an intelligent old farmer, fifty years at Covenham, eighty-five years of age, had found every mark of Roman residence, in coins, figured bricks, tiles, &c., but unfortunately had not preserved them. Every heap of earth, every new-made ditch, and every adjoining road, teemed with Roman pottery of various descriptions, from the fine red glazed Samian and thin black, to that of a coarser manufacture.

"There are no regularly raised earthen-works or enclosed camp to be seen here, but in several of the fields there are great irregularities of ground and excavations which indicate the site of ancient buildings, and which, if properly examined, would doubtless produce much novelty and information. In a meadow on the eastern side of this farm there was formerly a deep cavity, which is now filled up. The farmer informed me that he had traced a road, paved with large flat stones, leading directly from the Roman road up to it, but not extending beyond it. This was probably the site of a temple. On the western side of the old Causeway, and in a field belonging to Mr. Goddard, of Swindon, there are some great irregularities in its surface, from which many large stones have been extracted, and which evidently denoted the substructure of ancient buildings. In the modern road which intersects the station (of Nidum), I noticed half a quern; and in a heap of dirt, I picked up a piece of coral or (Samian) pottery, elegantly ornamented with vine leaves, and in no one Roman Station have I ever found so many fine specimens of Roman pottery, without the assistance of the spade, as at this place."

There is another very ancient road, called the Ridgeway, that runs along the top of the Chalk Downs, over Hackpen, and by

Barbury Castle, then across the valley, and so by Liddington Castle into Berkshire. It is said that this is part of a road which has been for ages, and is to this day, used for driving cattle all the way from Anglesey into Kent: and yet that there is no turnpike gate to pay, nor bridge to cross, for several hundred miles.

The Welsh cattle-drivers along that ancient ridgeway probably know very little about the matter; but if they do happen to be familiar with the traditions of their race, it must be with some suppressed regrets that they look down from those heights upon the plains of Wilts. Those plains, and Swindon itself under some other name, once belonged to the older people whom we now call Welsh; and long did they fight to save their lands from the grasp of us the invading Saxons. One very celebrated battle took place, according to some opinions, very near the town.

The Saxon kingdom of Wessex, of which Wiltshire was a principal part, was *formed* by the two kings, Cenric and Cerdic; but the old Britons still held their own to the north of it, and their principal line of defence lay between Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. It remained for the third and next king of Wessex, Ceawlin, to expel them beyond those places, still farther forwards towards Wales. He succeeded in doing so, and all seemed to be going on well for him, when, says the historian William of Malmesbury, "about that time, A.D. 592, an unlucky throw of the dice on the tables of human life" turned those tables against King Ceawlin. He had so mismanaged matters as to make himself an object of detestation to both parties, not only the Britons, but his own people the Saxons. They accordingly combined, and in that year destroyed his forces in a great battle, in which he lost his kingdom, went into exile and died.

William of Malmesbury, taking his account, as he says, from older writers, places that battle at Wodens*dike*. One copy of the Anglo Saxon Chronicle calls the place *Woodsbergh*, and another copy of the same Chronicle calls it *Wodensbergh*. Supposing the battle to have taken place in Wiltshire, then if it was at Wodensdike it would be at what we now call Wansdyke. If it was at Woodsbergh, it may have been at Woodborough, which is very

near the Wansdyke. If it was at Wodensbergh, that is not improbably Wanborough. Dr. Guest, who is endeavouring very elaborately to throw some light upon the events of this obscure period, says that beyond all question Wanborough was the place; and certainly the convenience of its position, with respect to the old roads, seems to favour his opinion very much.

SWINDON.

In Camden's account of Wiltshire, Swindon is not even mentioned. In another old work, "Cox's Magna Britannia," it *is* mentioned, but only thus: "Swindon is so inconsiderable a place that our histories take no notice of it." Many years before the Conquest the land belonged to the Saxon Crown of Wessex, and had been, by charter, granted to a Saxon Thane or Nobleman, and so became what was called Thane-land, free from certain burdens. About the time of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1050, that Saxon nobleman, whose name was the Earl William, had given it back to the Crown in exchange for some other lands in the Isle of Wight. Consequently, at the Conquest it was again in the hands of the Crown. At the time of the great survey called Domesday Book about A.D. 1084, the lands called Swindon had been divided among five proprietors, two larger and three smaller ones. The largest was a person of whom nothing more appears than that his name was Odin, and that he had filled the office of Chamberlain to William. The next largest landlord was the Bishop of Bayeux, a foreign prelate. Of the smaller proprietors, one was Alured of Marlborough, a small owner here, but of comfortable dimensions elsewhere. The two remaining ones were Uluric, and Ulward, who, as he is called the "King's Prebendary," was probably not badly off in the world. All these five estates are registered in the Great Survey under one and the same name of Swindon. Besides these is Wicklescote, now called Weslecot.

At Wicklescote, in after times, we find successively the names of these owners—Bluet, Bohun (holding what he held there under the Manor of Wootton Basset), Everard, the Darells of Littlecote, and the Lords Lovell, who had a vast property in this neighbour-

hood. By a Katharine Lovell, certain lands at Wicklescote were given to the Nuns of Lacock Abbey, and at the Dissolution of Monasteries those particular lands were bought by Mr. Goddard, then of Upham.

The five properties, all called Swindon in Domesday, are afterwards variously called Haute, High, or Over-Swindon, Nether-Swindon, Even-Swindon, and West Swindon. They passed into different hands; and among other owners were, in Edward 1., Philip Avenel holding under the Abbess of Wilton, Robert de Pontl'arge, holding under the Crown, the Bassets, the Despensers, the Abbey of Malmesbury, the Monastery of Ivychurch, near Sarum; and at a later period, the families of Everard, Alworth, and Vilett, the last-named being now represented by Mrs. Rolleston. Some of the lands that belonged to Monasteries were purchased in 1541 by Sir Thomas Bridges, ancestor of the Dukes of Chandos, and some at Even-Swindon by the Wenman family. With more access to documents, and an acquaintance with localities, a thing essential to accuracy in these matters, all this might be developed; but for the present we can only dwell upon the descent of the principal manor and lordship of Swindon.

The Bishop of Bayeux, already mentioned as holding, by the gift of the Conqueror, one of the larger estates, was Odo, half-brother to King William: created Earl of Kent. The best description of him, is from his own seal, an extremely rare and very curious one. On one side he appears as an Earl mounted on his war-horse, at full speed, clad in armour, and holding a sword in his right hand. This is one moiety of him. On the reverse is the other: a Bishop, in full *pontificalibus*, bestowing the benediction. He was one of the prime instigators to the invasion, and performed the part of a military chaplain: celebrated mass before the whole army the night before the battle of Hastings, and sang their requiems after it. Historians speak of him as a cruel, luxurious, overbearing man: and as the principal agent employed by William in dividing the prey—the lands of the defeated English. In this department he washed them all so clean, that he obtained the name of "The Conqueror's Sponge." This Earl Bishop did not forget

himself. His possessions were immense elsewhere: in Wiltshire he had only the small matter of the Manors of Swindon, Tidworth, Ditchampton, and Wadhill. The Conqueror had an odd habit of throwing away his sponges when they had served their purpose long enough: and so on a suitable pretext, he threw Bishop Odo, not exactly away, but into prison, and deprived him of all his estates.

The next time that the lordship is mentioned is not until the reign of Henry III., when, among others, it was again bestowed by the Crown upon a French nobleman, who also again happened to be the King's half-brother, William de Valence, created in England Earl of Pembroke, of Goderich Castle. He was one of the foreign leeches who sucked the blood of this country, and whose continued importation roused to resistance the native Barons of that reign. He had a son, Aylmer de Valence, who succeeded him, and died in 1323. Upon his death, without children, it was held by his widow, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, foundress of a College at Cambridge, at first called the College of Mary de Valence, but now Pembroke Hall. At her death, Swindon passed to her late husband's niece, Elizabeth Comyn, who brought it in marriage to Richard, second Baron Talbot, of Goderich Castle; and in 1473 it belonged to his descendant, John, Earl of Shrewsbury. About, I believe, the year 1560, it was purchased by Thomas Goddard, Esq., of Upham, ancestor of the present owner. This was just 300 years ago; but there is a family deed which mentions Goddard of High Swindon in 1404.

The Rectory and Advowson belonged at a remote period to the Augustine Priory of Saint Mary, of Southwick, near Winchester. In the year 1323 that Priory obtained licence to impropriate it; i.e., to apply the great tithes to their own use, converting the resident officiating Minister into a Vicar; but the endowment does not seem to have been settled (unless there is some error in the dates) until 1359. At the Dissolution of Southwick Priory, the Rectory and certain woods "Super Rectoriam," were purchased by Mr. Stephens, then of Burderop, whose family, in 1602, sold it, and the Advowson, to Nicholas Vilett and his heirs, now represented

by Mrs. Rolleston; but the nomination to this Vicarage in some way passed to the Crown.

The Monks of Wallingford used to have a small pension from the tithes. In the list of Vicars, are three peculiar names: Milo King, Aristotle Webbe, and Narcissus Marsh.

Swindon was the birth-place of Mr. Robert Sadler, who died in 1839, a person of whom the late Mr. Britton has preserved some particulars in his Autobiography.

Chiseldon.

An Anglo-Saxon document mentions the boundaries of the parish of Chiseldon; and among the marks by which they are described are a stone kist or grave at Holcomb, and Blackman's barrow. Two things are to observed from this:—1st. That the village must be a very ancient one when its boundaries in Anglo-Saxon days are defined by the burial-places of an older people; and next, that such older people did very often bury their dead upon the borders of their several districts, of which there are many instances.

The Manor of Chiseldon was for a very long time the property of the Abbey of Hyde, near Winchester. Sir Thomas Bridges, of Keynsham, ancestor of the Chandos family, then purchased it. About 1600 it was bought by the Stephens family, of Burderop, and the lordship now belongs, I believe, to their successors in that place.

In the church there is a brass effigy to one Francis Rutland, who married into the family of Stephens and who died whilst he was attending Queen Elizabeth on one of her Progresses.

Burderop.

The proper name is Bury-thorp. Thorp is one of the commonest Danish words for village, and is still one of the most frequent terminations of village names in those parts of England where the Danes chiefly established themselves. In Denmark to this day, Mr. Worsaae tells us in his book, they clip its name just in the same manner. North-thorp they call Norrop, Mill-thorp is Mill-drop. Stain-(i.e. Stone)thorp becomes Staindrop, which, by the

way, is the actual name of a parish in the county of Durham: and so forth. In Wiltshire we have other instances: Hilldrop near Ramsbury ought to be Hill-thorp; Eastrop and Westrop, near Highworth, are merely corruptions of East and West-thorp. Burderop also, like Chiseldon belonged to Hyde Abbey; and in the chartulary of that Monastery, in the British Museum, there is a great number of ancient documents relating to Chiseldon and its hamlets.

Badbury.

The adjoining Manor of Badbury was an estate that belonged to Glastonbury Abbey. The boundaries here also are described in a Saxon Charter, and one of the marks is called "The Ten Stones."

Wanborough.

It was mentioned before that from the place called Nythe Bridge two Roman roads branched off, one to Newbury, the other to Marlborough. Within the fork so made stands Wanborough.

A portion of the parish belonged, at the Norman Survey, to the Bishop of Winchester, not for himself, but for the maintenance of a Monastery there; and that is all that Domesday Book says about *Wem*-bergh, for so it spells the name. But from other sources it is quite certain that a very little after that period the principal lordship was the estate of the great House of Longespée, Earls of Sarum.[1] By three successive heiresses it passed—1st to the Barons Zouche; then to the old Barons Holand; and from them to the Barons Lovell, of Titchmarsh, in Northamptonshire. During the latter period it came into the hands of Francis Viscount Lovell, the celebrated favourite of Richard III. Wanborough afterwards belonged to the Darells of Littlecote.

In the reign of William Rufus and in the year 1091, long before

[1] During the present visit of the Society to Wanborough it was ascertained that the two broken effigies now in the porch of the Church, which had hitherto been supposed to belong to the Longespée family and are so described in the Journal of the "Archæological Institute," April 1851, really belonged to the family of Fitz William, a family living there about 1340—78. The letters "Fitz william (et) sa femme" are still legible.

the present Cathedral of Salisbury was built, Old Sarum was the chief city, and within that large circular mound, large for a mound but small enough for a chief city, they were building a new Cathedral. Several Rectories were given towards its endowment, and among the rest the Rectory of Wanborough; and besides the Rectory a hide and a half of land in the parish. I find by another ancient record in what is called the Red Book in Salisbury Registry, that in the year 1150 the then Bishop of Old Sarum granted some of his lands at Wanborough to one of his dependents of the name of Segur, on the curious but somewhat easy condition of providing wine for the Holy Sacrament in Old Sarum Cathedral at Easter.

By what means the See of Old Sarum came to lose the Rectory of Wanborough does not appear. But it was given to the Prior and Brethren of Nugent-le-Rotroi, in France, from whom, about the year 1191 it was transferred to the Monastery of Ambresbury. The Rectory of Wanborough continued to belong to Ambresbury Monastery till the Dissolution, when it was granted to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, who are now patrons of the Vicarage.

Wanborough Church is peculiarly built, having two steeples; one a spire at the East end of the nave, the other square at the West end. Wherever there is peculiarity there is always a popular tradition ready to explain it, and the popular explanation in the present case is as follows: That there were once upon a time, two ladies, sisters, who were piously minded to build one steeple; but as sisters, in all places, and at all times, are not like those happy geminæ of whom Ovid so pleasantly tells, that they had only one eye in common, so it happened here. Nothing in the world would be more likely to contribute to perfect coincidence of domestic opinions than that members of one family should take Ovid's hint, and endeavour to see all things through one and the same medium. But these two ancient sisters of Wanborough persisted in looking through a very contradictory medium, and the end of it was that as they could not agree whether the one steeple should be pointed or square, Wanborough Church came in for both. That is the

common story, but the fact is, that the square tower was added to the Church by an Archdeacon Polton, of a family in the parish, as an inscription testifies.

There is a prevailing notion at Wanborough that once upon a time there were a great many churches in it. Some of the more ambitious of the village patriarchs will insist that they once had thirty-two! and as the number, like Falstaff's men in buckram, continues to grow larger and larger, it may be time to enquire upon what this tradition is founded. The number of endowed churches that have been in any parish in this county, during the last 600 years or so, is easily ascertained by simply referring to the records of the diocese. Now these, within that period, only show Presentations, either to the parish Church, or to a Chapel of St. Katharine. The former is still there, but the latter has been lost sight of for nearly 400 years, and there is much doubt as to where it stood. It is commonly supposed to have been the small projection on the North side of Wanborough Church. But there are reasons for thinking that it must have been a separate Church altogether. St. Katharine's Chapel was a foundation of the Longespée family, to whom the manor belonged. It was augmented with a second endowment by one John de Wambergh, canon of Wells, and the two endowments together were very nearly equal to that of the Vicarage of Wanborough in those days. There were three *Priests* belonging to it; viz. the chief, called Custos, and two chaplains. There was more than *one* altar, and it had a *choir*. All this seems to imply a building of more importance than the very small appendage to the church.

St. Katharine's descended with the Longespée property to the Lords Lovell, and in 1483, Francis Lord Lovell, already alluded to, sold it to Bishop Waynflete, who gave it to Magdalen College, Oxon. That College has now a considerable estate in Wanborough. It was evidently a chapel for the use of the Lords of the Manor when residing at Wanborough. Of course, the College not wanting it for such purpose, it went to decay. It probably stood where the house of the Lovells was, at a spot called Court Close.

There was also in Wanborough another Mansion-house, called

Hall-place, where dwelt the family of Archdeacon Polton, who built the church tower. Aubrey was informed that, annexed also to that house had been a Chapel, dedicated to St. Ambrose. I have never met with any other reference to this. But as the site of Hall-place is in a field still called Ambrose field, it is possible that the tradition may have been true. If so, here would be another clergyman. This, with the three at St. Katharine's and the Vicar of the parish, would make five endowed clergymen in Wanborough in former times.

These particulars may, perhaps, help to clear up the tradition about so many Churches.

Near Nythe, or as it used to be called, the Nighs, have been at times discovered a great many marks of Roman occupation. These have been already alluded to. In the year 1689, some men making a ditch on a common near Wanborough, found an earthen vessel, containing nearly 2000 Roman coins, none of them later than Commodus, A.D. 192.

A little to the East of Nythe Bridge is a place called Lot Mead. This is a name for a field, that often occurs in Wiltshire parishes; but at Wanborough, about 200 years ago, it meant something more than a field. There used to be kept on the ground, about mowing time, some kind of village festival, called the Lot Mead, conducted with much ceremony. Aubrey says that "the proprietor appeared in a garland of flowers, and the mowers were entertained with a pound of beef and a head of garlic a-piece (O dura messorum ilia!) and many old customs at the same time kept up. The spot afterwards became famous for revelling and horse-racing." The books that describe our old national ceremonies, do not seem to mention a Lot Mead; and we can only conjecture that it was some ancient parish feast of great antiquity. Land certainly used to be divided by lot, in various proportions, among Saxon settlers. The Chronicle of Simeon of Durham, for instance, particularly mentions that when St. Cuthbert's bones were removed to Durham, which at that time was only a wood, "eradicata itaque silva, et unicuique *sorte* distributa;" i.e., the first care was to eradicate the forest that covered the land: the next to distribute the clearings *by lot.*

It is not certain that this was the origin of Wiltshire Lot Meads: but as there is this instance of a *village festival* connected with them, perhaps it may have been an annual merrymaking, kept up ever since the time of the original settlement.

Hannington.

The name is properly Haningdon: and the Manor before and at the Conquest belonged to the Abbey of Glastonbury. In Domesday Book, under the head of this Manor, there is a curious circumstance noted, which very rarely indeed occurs in that Record, viz.—That in the time of Edward the Confessor the Abbot of Glastonbury had sold one portion of his Manor for the *lives of three men.* This is a very ancient instance indeed, showing that the custom of leasing for three lives is not by any means a practise of late times in this country, but existed in Saxon days before the Conquest, and more than 1000 years ago. The same thing occurs also under the head of Highway, in the Parish of Hilmarton; and the Record Commissioners, in their preface to Domesday Book, call particular attention to the rarity of that example.

By some means or other Haningdon Manor passed out of the hands of Glastonbury Abbey, and in the year 1317 it is found belonging to the Earldom, afterwards the Duchy, of Lancaster. The Dukes of Lancaster were the founders of a noble collegiate establishment at Leicester, called St. Mary's Novi Operis, or St. Mary's New Work. It consisted of a dean, 12 prebendaries, 12 vicars, clerks and choristers, 50 poor women, 10 nurses, with proper officers and attendants, all plentifully provided for, and greatly patronised by the House of Lancaster. Part of the maintenance came from the rents of Haningdon and Inglesham in Wilts, and Kempsford in Gloucestershire. The College at Leicester also had the advowson of Haningdon. This continued till the Reformation. According to a document in the State Paper Office, the Manor was granted, in the year 1604, to Sir Roger Aston and Edmund Shaw: and the family of Swaine, of Tarrant Gunville and Blandford, in Dorsetshire, were patrons of the vicarage in 1615 and 1630. Very soon after that time, appears the name of Freke, also of Dorsetshire, as owners

and patrons. The date of 1653 is on the Manor House; and an emblem of two pair of hands holding one heart between them is also there, to signify that two brothers, William and Ralph Freke, possessed the estate in partnership, and could enjoy it without quarrelling. The same harmony is further denoted by a Latin inscription, being a quotation from the 133rd Psalm: "Ecce, quam bonum et quam jucundum est habitare fratres in unum."—"Behold," (behold, *i.e.* in the case of Hannington) "how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren to dwell together in unity."

The Church has an ancient Norman doorway. Hannington village was the birth-place of the Right Rev. Dr. Narcissus Marsh, who rose to be Lord Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland. In that country his name is held in the highest respect. He was the founder of a chapel and a noble library in Dublin, and of an almshouse in Drogheda for the widows of clergymen. His baptism is duly entered in Hannington Register as the son of William and Grace Marsh. His father had come from Kent and purchased a little property in the parish, but of the family nothing is now known there. There were some years ago some of his relatives in Ireland, one of whom was a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. Archbishop Marsh had been, in his earlier days, Vicar of Swindon for one year, 1662.

The Archbishop gave a great many of his Oriental manuscripts to the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and the same library is indebted to Hannington for a donation in the year 1657 of 500 gold and silver coins, with a cabinet to contain them. These were presented by the two brothers already mentioned, William and Ralph, sons of Sir Thomas Freke, whose filial affection for their Alma Mater is duly recorded by an inscription there.

Cricklade.

Cricklade has two Churches and two crosses; the churches are St. Sampson's and St. Mary's. St. Sampson's is a very unusual dedication, and it is not at all unlikely that many persons have lived at Cricklade all their lives, and have gone quietly to the grave, under the innocent conviction that the canonized person,

whose name that church bears, was the celebrated strong man who carried off the gates of Gaza. *Saint* Sampson was a native of Glamorganshire (and therefore a true Briton), born A.D. 496. He was trained in Ireland to a life of extreme holiness and self-denial; went over into Continental Britany, then under the same dominion as this country, and there became founder of the Abbey, and Bishop, of Dôl.

How he came to be selected for the Patron Saint of a church in Wiltshire is quite another question. Perhaps the reason may be this. Among several derivations that have been suggested for the difficult name of the town of Cricklade, one is that it is a corruption of the Welsh words "Kerig-glad," meaning *stone country*. If this is so, then the place itself may have been of Welsh origin and associations, and under those circumstances nothing would be more natural than that they should select as their Patron Saint, one, of whose kindred, and of whose eminence, they had in those days reason to be proud.

There *ought* also, but there is not, to be seen at Cricklade, a Hospital of St. John the Baptist; and there ought likewise to be seen, but likewise there is not, a Castle. No work on Wiltshire makes any mention of Cricklade Castle: but that there once was one so called, appears from the ancient history called "The Acts of K. Stephen." Speaking of the wars between Stephen and the Empress Matilda, the latter of whom was chiefly supported by the then Earl of Gloucester, the historian says: "At that time, 1142, William of Dover, a skilful soldier, and an active partisan of the Earl of Gloucester, took possession of Cricklade, a village delightfully situated in a rich and fertile neighbourhood. He built a castle for himself with great diligence, on a spot which, being surrounded on all sides by waters and marshes, was very inaccessible."

This description suits the local geography pretty well, but whereabouts the castle stood in Cricklade is not clear. It may, perhaps, have been not exactly *at* Cricklade, but at Castle Eaton, which is not very far off, and as Eaton means the inclosure within waters, that site would answer the historian's description equally well. In Leland's time some remains of Eaton Castle were still standing.

Braden.

The proper way of spelling this name is Braden, not Bradon. And the explanation of the reason will give in a few words its history.

The whole of the country, North West of Swindon, presented in ancient times as strong a contrast as possible to the district South of Swindon. Any ancient British or Saxon gentleman standing upon the brow of the chalk downs at Wroughton, or Cliff Pipard, and looking towards the South, would see before him a vast open platform, almost without a tree, probably without a ploughed field, a range for many miles of green turf, dotted with barrows, crossed by grass dykes, studded here and there with earthworks, camps, structures of huge stones in avenues and circles, and all the other relics of his predecessors. But if the same British or Saxon gentleman turned upon his heel, right about face, and looked to the North, he would see something very different; commencing almost at his feet immediately under the cliff, a broad tract of wood for many miles. In ancient times Braden came a great deal farther South, as well as in other directions, than the small tract now called by that name. There are in existence several documents called Perambulations of the Forest; and in one of them the town of Wootton Basset, is described as lying within its precincts. The name of Wootton means Wood-town. Basset is, of course, only the family name.

The Anglo-Saxons brought their words over with them, and applied those words according to the character of the places where they settled. Their way was this. A number of men settled on one spot. Each had a portion of *arable* land, on which he lived; this was for his own exclusive use. But their feeding ground, their pasture, was in common. So also, in common, were the woods and forest ground through which their animals ranged. Such names of places as end in *ton*, *tun*, (meaning enclosure) *ham*, *worth*, *stead*, and the like, all imply the *settled habitation* where the houses were. But such names as end in, *den*, *holt*, *wood*, *hurst*, and others, invariably denote forests, and roving pastures in forests. The word *den*, in particular, says the late Mr. Kemble, is a Saxon noun

neuter, which always denotes woodland feeding. In the counties of Kent and Sussex, along the edge of the Weald (the Great Forest), there are many such names as Surrenden, Tenterden, Ashenden, and the like. There are so many of them, that within the last two centuries, there was actually a peculiar jurisdiction, called the *Court of Dens*, for settling claims belonging to the woodland feedings. There is another word, *dene*, which means a valley; but that is ancient British, not Saxon, and is very rarely found in composition. The Saxon *Den* is woodland pasture. *Brad* is, of course, Saxon for broad; and *Bra-den*, means the broad woodland pasture. That is the reason why it ought to be spelled with an *e*, not with an *o*. If it is spelled *don*, as in Swindon, that would mean hill.

Purton.

It can only have been in very remote times that the whole of this tract was forest, because in William the Conqueror's great survey we find the same parishes named as are now within that district, showing that those different portions of it had been cleared and enclosed by that time. For example:—Purton. This had been granted by Saxon Kings of Wessex 300 years before the Conquest to Bishop Aldhelm, as the charter expressly states, "for the foundation of his Abbey at Malmesbury." Purton ought to be spelled P-i-r, as it is a pure Saxon name, Piriton, meaning the Pear-tree enclosure, and it is always so spelled in ancient deeds.

In the, sometimes weary, work of tracing obscure histories, it is a relief to find that a manor was given to a Monastery; because, as the Monasteries took better care of their property than any body else, its history is settled for many centuries. So it was with Purton. It belonged to Malmesbury Abbey till the Dissolution. This gives us a leap of 800 years.

Soon after the Dissolution in Henry VIII., a part of Purton was bought by Mr. Hyde, the father of the Lord Chancellor, Earl of Clarendon. The Chancellor was not born there, but at Dinton (now Mr. Wyndham's, in South Wilts), which Mr. Hyde held on lease. Preferring to live on his own freehold to living on leasehold,

Mr. Hyde came to Purton. This is told in Lord Clarendon's life of himself, where he mentions a little incident, which may help to garnish our notices of Purton. Among other juvenile recollections of himself and this place, Lord Clarendon says that in 1625, being then only Edward Hyde, 17 years of age, studying law in the Middle Temple, he was seized with an illness, and that his friends, fearing consumption, sent him down to Purton. One evening he was busy reading to his father a chapter in "Camden's Annals." The particular chapter was one which mentioned that many years before, a copy of an excommunication by the Pope had been nailed up against the Bishop of London's Palace-gate by a person whose name was John Felton.[1] Whilst young Hyde was reading this passage a neighbour knocked at the door, and being called in told them that an express messenger had just gone through the village on his way to Charlton House, Lord Berkshire's, bringing the news that George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, had been stabbed at Portsmouth, and that the culprit's name, in this case also, happened to be the same as the one he was reading about, John Felton. The coincidence of names made an impression upon young Hyde, and, in after life, when Chancellor, he used often to tell the anecdote.

Lord Clarendon's *first* wife was a Wiltshire lady, and a neighbour to Purton. She was a daughter of Sir George Ayliffe, of Grittenham House in Brinkworth. She was very fair and beautiful, but died at the age of 20, and in the first year of marriage. There is, or was, a gravestone to her at Purley, in Berkshire, with a short and touching Latin inscription, which no doubt was written by her young husband himself, and shows that the great historian knew how to write in other languages besides his own—"Vale, anima candidissima; Vale, mariti tui, quem dolore et luctu conficis, æternum desiderium: Vale, fæminarum decus, et sæculi ornamentum." [Adieu, fairest of spirits: for ever to be regretted by thy sorrowing husband: honour to thy sex, and ornament of thy age, adieu!]

[1] Joannes Feltonus affixed a Pope's Bull against Queen Elizabeth upon the Bishop of London's palace 1570. Camd. Ann., p. 182. Ed. 1615.

The house in which he lived at Purton is still standing. On one of the chimney-pieces is a curious coat of arms—a Tyger regardant or looking backwards, in a mirror. It is the arms of the Chancellor's grandmother, who was of the *Sibell* family. It is also in the church of Tisbury, not far from Dinton.

Purton church has two towers, on one of which is a spire. A good many years ago there was some fine glass in the windows; among the rest, two coats of arms of Keynes and Paynell. These were leaseholders under the Abbey of Malmesbury. Keynes was a family once widely spread in North Wilts; and the name is still preserved in Ashton Keynes, Pool Keynes, and Somerford Keynes. They were hereditary keepers of Brad*en* forest. Keynes-place is, I believe, still the name of a house at Purton. Paynell's (if it exists) was corrupted into Neel's-place.

Lydiard.

Our tour ends with two parishes, with difficult names—Lydiard Milicent and Lydiard Tregoz. For a long time they had but one name in common—Lydiard, and under that one they are mentioned separately in Domesday Book. In other old records the name occurs spelled in a very great variety of ways. The spelling nearest to the right one would be Led-yard, as it appears to be a pure Anglo-Saxon compound word—*leod*, people, and *yeard*, enclosure; the people's enclosure or dwelling—a natural name for a large clearing in the ancient forest. They lie in two different hundreds, and belonged at the Conquest to two different lords; North Lydiard or Milicent to the Crown, which held it in its own hands; the other to Alured of Marlborough.

The custom of giving second names to parishes was first introduced by the great Norman families, and was greatly in fashion in the reigns of Henry III., and the Edwards. In this county the instances are very numerous. The second name so given is, in the majority of cases, that of the family to whom it belonged about that period. It is a very convenient and pretty mode of distinguishing parishes that had originally one common Saxon name, as in the case of Stanton St. Quintin, Stanton Fitzwarren, Stanton

Bernard; Draycot Foliot, Draycote Cerne, Compton Basset, Compton Chamberlayne, Compton Beauchamp; and others. But in the case of one of the Lydiards the puzzle is that Milicent is not a family name—it is a female *Christian* name; and such addition to a parish is not very common. Still, there is in the county of Wilts another instance; the parish of Winterbourne Gunner, near Salisbury. The records of that parish given in Sir R. C. Hoare's work, prove that Winterbourne in the reign of Henry III. was held by *Gunnora*, the widow of Henry Delamere, and to distinguish it from several other Winterbournes it obtained that lady's baptismal name of Gunnore. The same was probably the case with North Lydiard, for there is a document of the reign of King John, a deed of agreement between two brothers, sons of a lady, who, as widow, was at that time Lady of the Manor of North Lydiard: and in this deed one brother, Hugh, grants to the other the reversion of the manor "after the death of *Milicent* their mother." It so happens that all the parties are called by their Christian names, and no family name at all appears, but from other evidences the name was perhaps Clinton.

About the second name, Lydiard *Tregoz*, there is no difficulty. The older name of this parish was Lydiard Ewyas; so called because it had been granted, with several other places in Wilts, to one William de Ewyas, Baron of Ewyas Castle in Herefordshire. One of these Wiltshire places was Teffont Ewyas, in the vale of Wardour. Sibilla, the heiress of the Ewyas family, in the reign of Richard I., married Sir Robert Tregoz. His family (also Barons) held it for about 100 years, and in 1299 ended in two coheiresses. One of them took the Herefordshire Castle, the other, Lydiard, and married William de Grandison. The same story was repeated. The heiress of Grandison married Pateshall, the heiress of Pateshall married Beauchamp, and the heiress of Beauchamp married Oliver St. John, ancestor of the present owner. It is sometimes called in deeds "Lydiard St. John," which it ought to be, as that family has held it 400 years. The splendid monuments of the St. John family, and the high decoration of their part of the church, have earned for it the popular name of Fine Lydiard. The

windows of the chancel contain much stained glass: and among other heraldry, a quaint allusion to the name of *Oliver* St. John; an olive tree, from the boughs of which hang the different shields of all the heiresses just named. There is also a painting on wooden panel, as large as life, of Sir John St. John and his wife, Lucy Hungerford, of Farley Castle. On the panels is a pedigree of the St. Johns, drawn up by Sir Richard St. George, Garter King at Arms, whose wife was a St. John, sister of the Knight who is painted there. Horace Walpole, in his "Anecdotes of Painting," mentions that upon one occasion, when the furniture of Lydiard house was sold by auction, an old servant of the family during the night hid a bust of Lord Bolingbroke, by Rysbrach, in a vault in the church, from which, in due season, it was restored to light. One of the daughters of Sir John St. John (just mentioned) was wife of Sir Allen Apsley Governor of the Tower, by whom she was the mother of Mrs. Mary Hutchinson the wife and biographer of Col. John Hutchinson, governor of Nottingham Castle. In the church is an inscription to another daughter of Sir John St. John, Katharine, Lady Mompesson. Her husband was Sir Giles Mompesson, of an old Wiltshire family, of Corton and Bathampton Wyly, near Deptford Inn. Sir Giles was M.P. for Great Bedwyn, about 1620. He was also a great projector, dealer, and patentee. In no reign was the system of patents, granted by the Crown, more abused than in that of King James I., chiefly through the fault of, and to fill the purse of, the favourite Duke of Buckingham. Sir Giles Mompesson and another person of the name of Mitchell obtained the privilege of the exclusive manufacture of gold and silver thread, with which the dresses in those days were liberally embellished. This privilege they abused so outrageously, that an example was obliged to be made, and Sir Giles was severely punished. He was the original of the Sir Giles Overreach of Massinger the dramatist (himself a Wiltshire-man).

The most remarkable name in the family of St. John is that of Henry, the first Lord Bolingbroke, the celebrated statesman. He was neither born nor buried here: but Lydiard was his family inheritance. In 1712 he was created Baron St. John of Lydiard,

and Viscount Bolingbroke, but owing to the course he had taken in Queen Anne's reign he was, upon the accession of George I., in 1714, attainted of high treason, and deprived both of his estates and titles. He escaped to France, where he entered the service of the Pretender, but was again unsuccessful. In 1723 he contrived to make his peace at home, and was restored to his estates, but never to his titles. After several years of able hostility to Walpole, he renounced politics, and again retired to France; but upon his father's death came back and lived at Battersea. The "*lethalis arundo*," the poisoned arrow that rankled in his heart, was his degradation from the House of Lords. His political disappointments embittered his mind against everything else.

During the latter part of his life he employed his great abilities in preparing a grand attack upon Religion. He was looked upon as the Goliath of his party, and great were the vaunts of the wonderful feat he was about to perform. But there was lying in wait for him a champion, of whom he had already had some slight experience, enough to make him hesitate. So he delayed his work: and, in fact, it was not published until 1753, two years after his own death. Bishop Warburton then placed Lord Bolingbroke's philosophy and reputation in the light in which it has since stood, which is this. That though there is much in his works to mislead the people, there is nothing in them to alarm the scholar. And others who have also studied them deeply tell us, that (unlike the case of Lord Bacon, Newton, and others) there is *nothing really original* in Bolingbroke. With all his transitory splendour, his knowledge was that of other men which he had mastered. He is not the author of a single new discovery in Nature.

Lord Bolingbroke admits the existence of *a* Deity, but he denies God's *moral* superintendence. This was anything but new doctrine; but in his hands it was revived with every attraction that language could supply. If he was *really* anxious for his principles to be adopted and acted upon, then he must have been anxious to destroy in men's minds all checks to conscience, and all the consolations of religion. The world may regard such men as prodigies, but it has no reason to remember them as its benefactors.

Rev.d A. C. Smith. del.

Lith.d by Newman & Co 48 Watling St London.

SILBURY HILL; FROM THE WEST.

Scale_1 inch to 100 feet

Silbury.

By the Rev. A. C. Smith, M.A.

Read before the Society at Avebury during the annual Meeting at Marlborough, September, 1859.

"Unchanged it stands: it awes the lands
Beneath the clear dark sky;
But at what time its head sublime
It heavenward reared, and why—
The gods that see all things that be
Can better tell than I." *

LIVING as I do, though not quite under its shadow, yet within sight of Silbury, I feel in some degree locally constituted its guardian, and if I hear of any one impugning its purpose, or in any way speaking disrespectfully of the great mound, I have such a wholesome dread of incurring the wrath of the "genius loci," that I consider myself in duty bound to act in some sort as its champion, and rebut any such accusations to the best of my power. Moreover esteeming it as one of the most remarkable and interesting relics of antiquity in this or any other County, and entertaining a strong belief that it contains the remains of the mighty dead of a very early age, I am very desirous to rescue it from the imputation of having been raised for other than sepulchral purposes, under which it has lain since the year 1849, when Mr. Tucker, who drew up the report of its examination by the Archæological Institute boldly concluded his paper by announcing the sepulchral theory to be henceforth exploded.[1] From such an assumption I must beg leave to dissent, and I hope to prove that here Mr. Tucker has jumped too rapidly to a conclusion, which is hardly warranted by his premises; and while I enter my humble

* Bode's Ballads from Herodotus, p. 102.

[1] Salisbury Volume of the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute for 1849, p. 303. Archæological Journal, vi., 307.

protest against it, I imagine that I do not stand alone, but am only echoing the sentiments of very many, and some of these no mean Archæologists, among whom I am proud to enumerate Aubrey and Stukeley of old time, and of our own day, the late Dean of Hereford, and that prince of Anglo-Saxon scholars, the late Mr. Kemble; both of whom (unless I very much misunderstood them at the time) as well as many other influential members of the Institute who were present on the occasion, gave it as their opinion, not that the sepulchral theory as regarded Silbury must be abandoned, but only that we failed to prove it to be something more than theory, by not being so fortunate as to hit upon the exact spot in our excavations.

With considerable diffidence of my own knowledge of the subject, but backed by such well-known names, I proceed to give a short description of the great tumulus, and then to consider its probable origin: remarking by the way, that gigantic as the work is, we can find no allusion to it in any early writer, unless we accept the suggestion (for which there seem to be scarcely sufficient grounds,) that *possibly* the "heaping the pile of Cyvrangon" mentioned in the Welsh Triads, as one of the three mighty labours of the island of Britain, may be applied to Silbury.[1]

SILBURY stands on the extreme edge of a short spur or promontory of down, jutting out Northwards towards Avebury, and is nearly South of the great Circle, and midway between the extremities of the avenues:[2] that is, *assuming* that there was a second avenue, and that it ended where Stukeley *fancied*. Its general mass is composed of chalk, earth, and rubble taken from the surrounding soil, and is covered with the short close turf for which our downs are so famous:[3] but by the kind assistance of Mr. Cunnington (who also furnished me with some of the details of the accompanying section) I am enabled to give an accurate description of the com-

[1] Sir R. C. Hoare's Ancient Wilts, ii., 83. Davies' Celtic Researches.

[2] Stukeley's Abury, p. 41. "Abury illustrated," by William Long, Esq., M.A., in Wiltshire Magazine, vol. iv., p. 337.

[3] Professor Buckman found forty species of plants on Silbury Hill, and considers that it furnishes a good example of the flora of a limestone district.

ponent parts of the hill, as they were originally placed *in situ* by the workmen (whoever they were) and as they were revealed by the tunnel which penetrated to the centre in 1849 under the auspices of the Archæological Institute.[1] It will be seen that at the nucleus of the mound these several materials lie in regular layers, (or segments of concentric circles)[2] as they must have been taken from the surrounding ground and there deposited: the curve of the strata plainly showing the commencement of the accumulation, by which this gigantic tumulus had been formed:[3] thus we have

1st, (at *a*) Light rubble with flints and chalk.

2nd, (at *b*) Dark clayey rubble with flints.

3rd, (at *c*) Decayed peat with moss and shells.

4th, (at *d*) Light chalky rubble, forming the general mass of the hill.

Nor is this all which the tunnel has revealed, for it exposed the undisturbed surface, just as it existed before the vast superincumbent mass was placed upon it, showing throughout its entire length,

1st, (at *e*) The ancient original turf.

2nd, (at *f*) The original soil (viz: clay with flints).

3rd, (at *g*) The original chalk undisturbed.

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[1] "On Tuesday the 10th July the excavation of the gallery was commenced: from this time gangs of workmen succeeded each other at stated intervals, so that the work proceeded day and night without interruption. By Friday evening the 13th, the tunnel had extended to 94 feet from the entrance, about one-third of the whole intended length, by which it was calculated the centre of the hill would be attained. The work thus far was carried through the natural soil, a vein of hard undisturbed chalk, and proceeded in an upward direction, at an inclination of 1 in 28: the artificial soil was cut into at 33 yards from the entrance: the work was then carried on through 18 inches of the artificial earth and 5 feet of the original soil, presuming that by this means any sepulchral remains must be discovered if they existed. The excavation was carried in this way 54 yards, at which distance, according to the survey made, the original centre of construction, or true centre of the hill would be attained." [Examination of Silbury, in Salisbury Volume, p. 300.]

[2] Archæological Journal, vi., 307.

[3] "The turf was quite black, as was also the undecayed moss and grass which formed the surface of each layer, and amongst it were the dead shells, &c., such as may still be found in the adjoining country." [Salisbury Volume of the Archæological Institute, p. 301.]

[4] Illustrations 2 and 3 are copied from the Salisbury Volume of the Archæological Institute.

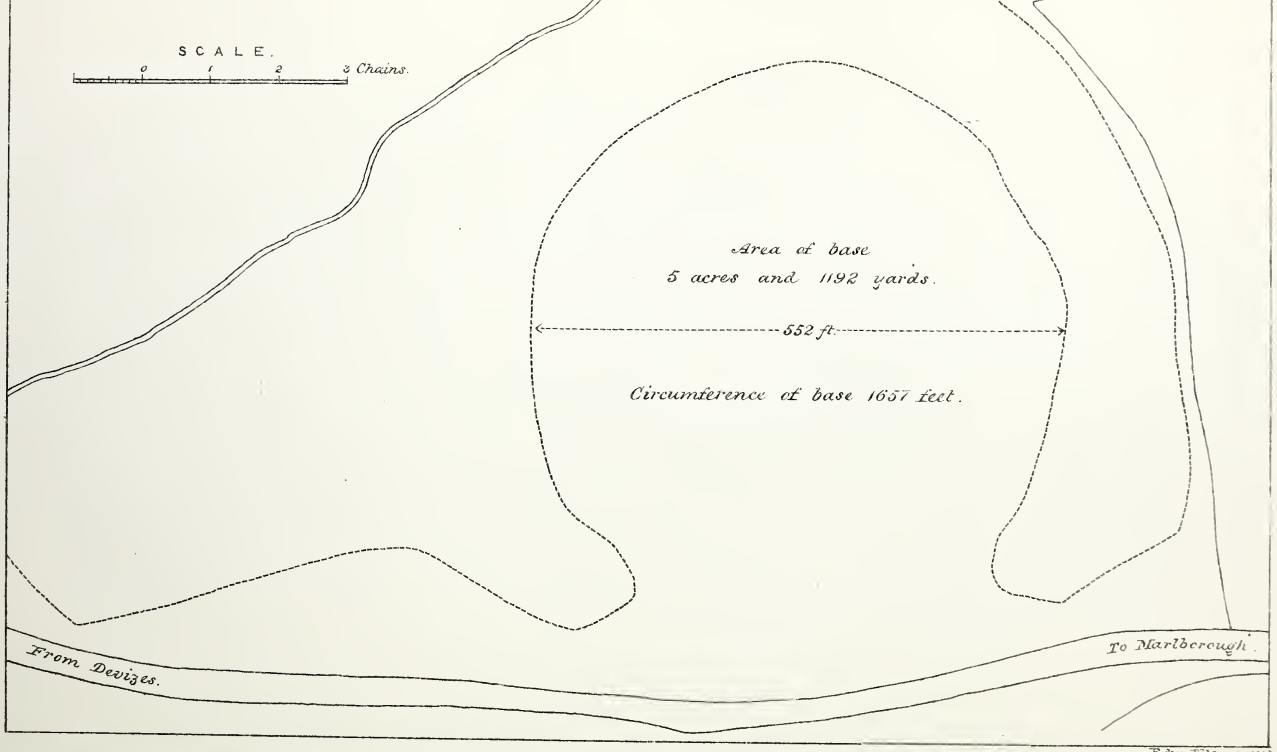
So far for its geology. Next with regard to the Etymology of Silbury. Here, as in everything else connected with this mysterious tumulus, there is a great variety of opinion, some inclining to the tradition that a King Sel was buried here, and thence its name;[1] others, that it is "Solis-bury," the mound of the Sun:[2] but the most obvious derivation seems to be from the Anglo-Saxon words *sel* "great, excellent," and *bury* "mound," just as Silchester undoubtedly derives its name from *sel* "chief" and *ceaster*, "city;"[3] and Selwood is described by the Saxon Chronicler Asram as "Magna Silva." And in good truth an enormous mound it is, and correctly stated by Mr. Matcham in his paper on the results of Archæological investigation in Wiltshire, "the largest tumulus which this quarter of the world presents."[4] It is extraordinary that though its dimensions have been often published, no two measurements have ever yet proved alike: under these circumstances I hardly dare assert my own accuracy, though from repeated measurements with the spirit level, the quadrant and the tape, I have satisfied myself that I have mastered its dimensions: and I cannot but conjecture that the fact of its circular form giving it

[1] The tradition was that King Sel or Zel was buried there, and that the vast mound was raised while a posset of milk was seething. [Hoare's Ancient Wilts, ii., 80. Abury illustrated, in Wiltshire Magazine, vol. iv., p. 337. Stukeley's Abury, p. 42.]

[2] Rickman (who disdains the idea of sepulture as connected with Silbury) enters into a long and ingenious argument, to prove that the latter part of the name, though apparently denoting a memorial of interment there, was applied indiscriminately to every tumulus and hillock, natural or artifical, and is in truth the same as *berg*, a fact which I do not wish to dispute. [Archæologia, xxviii., p. 415.]

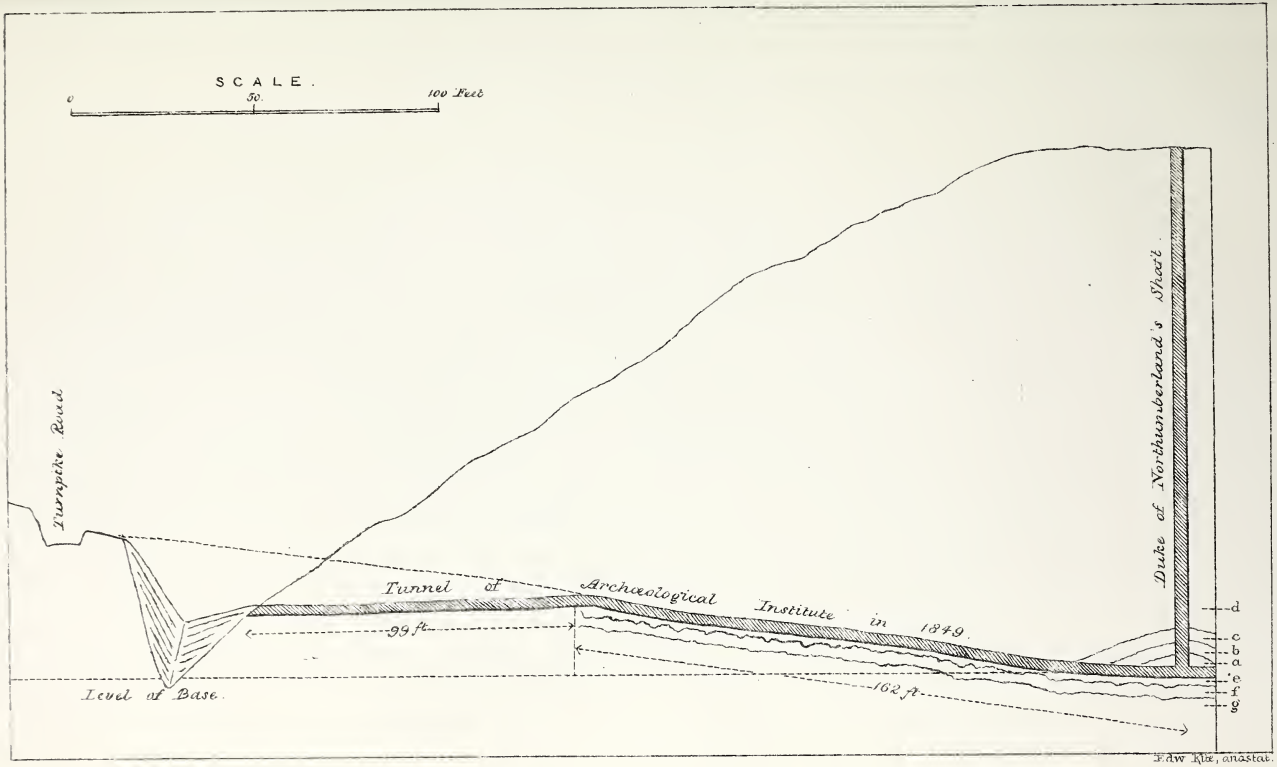
[3] In the county of Westmoreland there is a *Raise* or large heap of stones, called "Selsit-raise," near Shap: and a *How*, or heap of earth and stones, near Odindale, called "Sillhow," [Archæological Journal, No. 69, 1861]. [See Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary in loco.] In like manner Stukeley supposes that the old British or Belgic name of Stone-henge "Choir-gaur," latinized by the monks into "*chorea giganteum*" signifies "the great Church," or, as we should say, the "Cathedral." [Stonehenge, p. 47.]

[4] [Salisbury Volume of the proceedings of the Archæological Institute in 1849, p. 5.] The author of the "Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered," calls it, "the largest tumulus in Europe, and one worthy of comparison with those mentioned by Homer, Herodotus, and other ancient writers," [i. 417]. [Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wilts, ii., 81.]



GROUND PLAN OF SILBURY HILL.

Edw Rite, delin.



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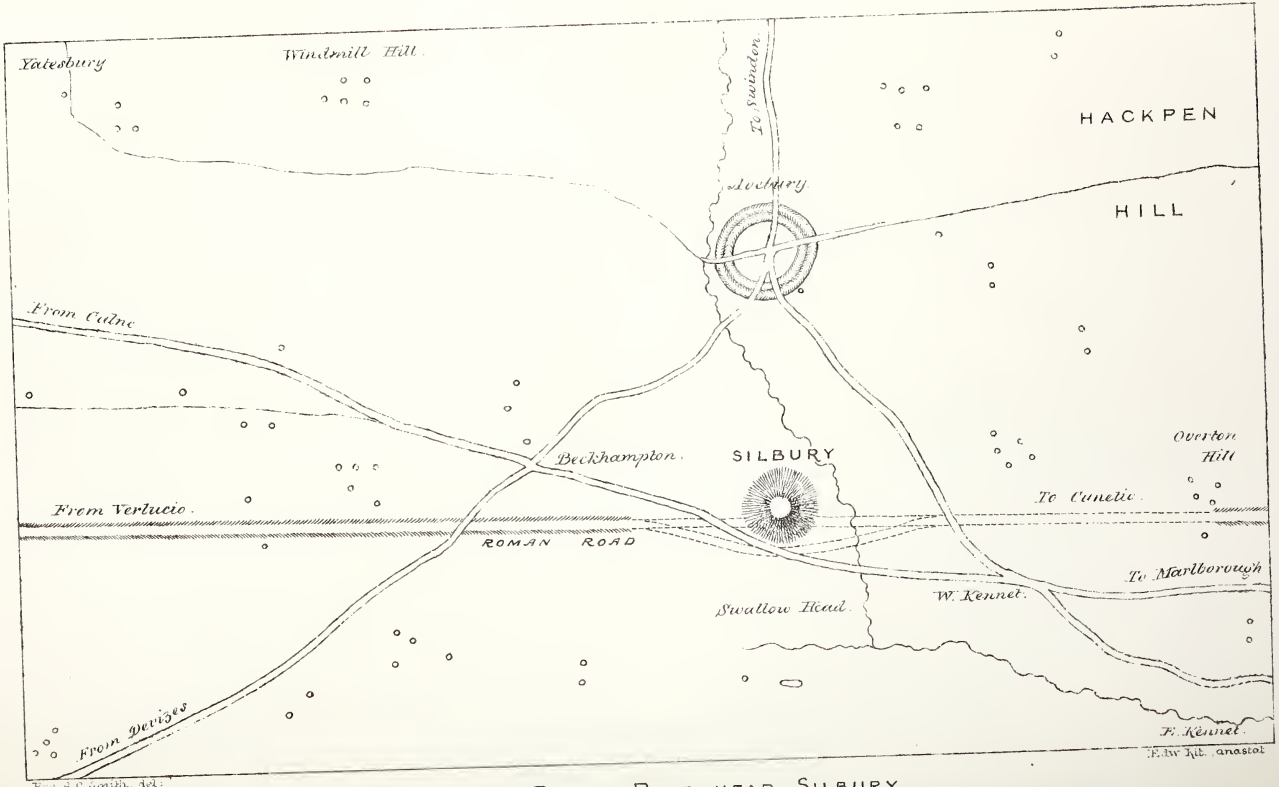
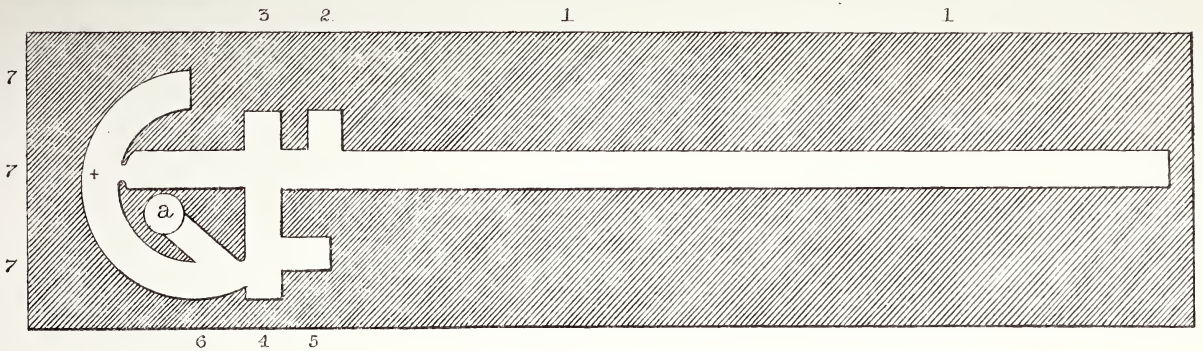


COURSE OF ROMAN ROAD NEAR SILBURY.

° signifies a Barrow.



N°1. *Part of the Tunnel or Long Gallery.*

2, 3, 4, 5 } *Lateral Chambers near the centre of the Hill.*

6 *A Cutting made towards the end of the Tunnel, by which the Shaft (a) sunk from the summit about 85 years since was discovered.*

7 *A circular Gallery from which there is an opening into the Tunnel.*

\+ *The exact spot where an Urn is deposited, containing a record of the Operations in 1849.*

Edw. Tate, anascal

GROUND PLAN OF THE EXCAVATIONS IN SILBURY HILL IN 1849.

the appearance of far greater steepness than in reality it possesses, has caused some to doubt the accuracy of their own measurements, and led them to trust to their eye rather than the tape; though by standing at some distance and holding up a stick obliquely between the eye and the slope of the hill, any one may easily satisfy himself that the angle of elevation is far lower than he would at first sight have imagined. I proceed now to compare the measurements of Stukeley who surveyed it circa A.D. 1720;[1] Sir Richard Hoare about A.D. 1812;[2] Mr. Blandford in 1849, and my own of the present year, as regards Perpendicular Height; Circumference of the base; Diameter of the base; Diameter of the top; Slope of the side; and Angle of elevation:[3] first remarking that with the single exception of the comparatively immaterial measurement of the Diameter of the top, Mr. Blandford's figures coincide very nearly with my own, though we both differ widely from those of the above-named eminent Antiquarians.[4]

	Perpendicular Height.	Diameter of Base.	Circumference of Base.	Slope of side.	Diameter of Top.	Angle of Elevation.
Stukeley.	173	519	1557	270	105	40°
Sir R. Hoare.	170	675	2027	316	120	32°
Blandford.	125	555	1665	250	120	30°
A. C. Smith, N.	130	552	1657	249	104	30°
E.S.E.	122	——	——	242	102	——
W.S.W.	——	——	——	238	——	——

With regard to the slope of the side, and the diameter of the

[1] Stukeley's Abury, p. 43.

[2] Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wilts, ii., 82.

[3] Rickman, (in the 28th vol. of Archæologia,) gives 2300 feet as the circumference of the base; 105 as the diameter of the top; and 130 as the perpendicular height, the two latter figures agreeing with my own: but the former (if correct), would produce an area of 10 acres and 538 yards, whereas Rickman says, it covers only 4½ acres, wherefore there is a manifest discrepancy in his figures.

[4] In taking the present measurements, I have not only been very much assisted by my friend the Rev. W. C. Lukis: but his name is a further guarantee that no mistake has been made: and in working out the figures, and calculating the contents of the hill, I desire to record my obligations to Mr. Richard Falkner of Devizes, who has kindly come to my aid, and has also given me much valuable information on many points connected with my subject.

top, which are so easily measured, and especially in the latter case, which requires no calculation, and where the line extends from one side to another, one would imagine that with ordinary care no discrepancies could exist, and yet it will be seen by the table that the measurements here vary quite as much as elsewhere. And with regard to the angle of elevation which Stukeley boldly affirms to be 40°,[1] I would again observe, that in this the eye greatly deceives us, leaving us under the impression that the sloping side is far steeper than it really is, and while I confess that on paper our hill does look very depressed, and very easy of ascent, I would deprecate the criticism of the casual observer, and beg him before he condemns my figures, to give them the only fair trial of their accuracy, viz: a personal examination.

So much then for its dimensions, though I may add that the ground covered by this gigantic tumulus has been variously estimated at from five to six acres.[2] According to my measurements, the area of the base would be 5 acres and 1192 yards, and its cubical contents 468, 170 cubic yards.

And now I think I may assert without fear of contradiction that Silbury was a work of enormous labour, and at the early period of its formation must have taxed the sinews as well as the patience of a vast multitude; and though in this advanced age, and in our superior wisdom, we are (I think) somewhat inclined to underrate the powers of our rude forefathers in a remote period, and decry their skill, (though surely in Wiltshire at least Stonehenge and Avebury and Silbury stand before us to rebuke our self conceit, and arrest our supercilious contempt for bygone ages) yet without arrogating to barbarous times the skill of modern engineers, and the appliances of modern science, we may rest

[1] I must add that Dr. Stukeley, though an accomplished scholar, was by no means accurate in his figures and plans.

[2] Sir Richard Hoare says 5¼ acres: (Anc: Wilts, ii., 82). Rickman only 4½ acres: (Archæologia, vol. xxviii., 402). Stukeley adds "the solid contents of it amount to 13, 558, 809 cubic feet: some people have thought it would cost £20,000 to make such a hill." [Abury described p. 43,] and Aubrey says, "I remember that Sir Jonas Moor, Surveyor of the Ordnance, told me it would cost threescore, or rather (I think), fourscore thousand pounds to make such a hill now."

assured that those who directed the throwing up of Silbury were not wanting in courage and ability to accomplish so mighty a work;[1] for without question a mighty work it was, and especially if we consider that in all probability every particle of it was carried in baskets on the shoulders of the workmen, as was and is the custom of barbarous nations:[2] though I confess it dwindles down to the comparative insignificance of a mole-hill when placed side by side with the gigantic results of railway embankments within the last thirty years, so graphically described in a recent article in the Quarterly.[3] There we are told that it is almost impossible "to form an adequate idea of the immense quantity of earth, rock and clay, that has been picked, blasted, shovelled and wheeled into embankments by English navvies during the last 30 years: on the South Western Railway alone the earth removed amounted to sixteen millions of cubic yards, a mass of material sufficient to form a pyramid 1,000 feet high, with a base of 150,000 square yards. Mr. Robert Stephenson has estimated the total amount on all the railways in England as at least 550 millions of cubic yards, and what does this represent? "We are accustomed," he says, "to regard St. Paul's as a test for height and space; but by the side of the pyramid of earth these works would rear, St. Paul's would be

[1] The grand dimensions of Silbury attracted the particular notice of King Charles II. during a Royal progress to Bath; and under the guidance of Aubrey the "merry monarch" ascended to the top. [Hoare's Ancient Wilts, ii., 59. Stukeley's Abury, 43.]

[2] It is a ridiculous but significant fact that when a railway *plant* was sent to India from this country, the natives who were employed as labourers in the work, mistaking the use of the wheelbarrows, filled them with earth and then placed them on their heads, and so proceeded to carry them to the embankment they were forming. The same thing is told of the negroes in South America: "they seem to prefer carrying burdens on their heads, transporting the very heaviest articles in this way: it is said that when the railway to Petropolis was being built, the negroes insisted on carrying the handbarrows (which were furnished to them) on their heads, turning the wheel in front with the hand, in time to their song." [From New York to Delhi by way of Rio de Janeiro, Australia, and China, by Robert Minturn: Longman, 1858.] And Sir James Emerson Tennant in his admirable work on Ceylon, says, "the earth which formed the prodigious embankments and Dagobahs in Ceylon was carried by the labourers in baskets in the same primitive fashion which prevails to the present day," [vol. i., p. 464].

[3] Quarterly Review for January, 1858.

but as a pigmy to a giant: imagine a mountain half a mile in diameter at its base, and soaring into the clouds one mile and a half in height, that would be the size of the mountain of earth which these earthworks would form: while St. James's Park, from the Horse Guards to Buckingham Palace would scarcely afford space for its base."[1] But to return to Silbury, which we will not attempt to compare to these modern labours. I apprehend it will be allowed on all sides, that it could not have been thrown up without a vast expense of time and severe toil, but at what cost, and whence the workmen derived their supplies of food during their labours,[2] it were idle now to speculate: we may also assume that its promoters must have had *some* great motive, when they set about and accomplished so Herculean a task: and now comes the question, what can we assign as the *probable* object, likely to have given rise to such a stupendous work?

I believe that if we search into the existing remains of the most ancient times, and if we continue our enquiries through more modern ages, in heathen countries, we shall find that, almost without an exception, the greatest works of man have been devoted either to objects of religious worship or of sepulture. To accomplish either of these ends, no labour seems to have been too great. As regarded worship, however misguided might be the worshipper, however false the god, the object of providing a suitable temple was enough to smooth away all difficulties, and overcome every obstacle: while on the other hand, to leave behind him a sepulchral monument which should continue as long as time should last, and remain an imperishable memorial of him to distant ages, this was enough to rouse all the energies of the ambitious barbarian, and spur him on to perseverance in the most arduous tasks[3].

[1] The author of the "Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered" calculates that in the last fifteen years, 250,000,000 cubic yards, or 400,000,000 tons of earth and rock have in tunnel embankment and cutting been moved to greater or less distances in the construction of railways, [vol. ii., p. 296].

[2] Compare Herodotus, book ii., chap. 125, where the good old historian delighted to compute the garlic and onions consumed by the workmen at the Pyramids as amounting to 1600 talents of silver, a sum equal to £345,600. [See too Rollin's Anc. Hist., book i., part i., chap. 2, sect. 2.]

[3] The Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, vol. ii., 209.

We may take Stonehenge and Avebury as instances of what the first of these motives could effect, while the Pyramids of Egypt, the renowned Mausoleum in Caria,[1] and the famous Taj Mahal and other tombs of astonishing size, beauty, and the most elaborate workmanship in India, demonstrate no less clearly the power of the second.

Now to affirm positively that Silbury was not erected for religious worship, would be to beg the question at issue: moreover we know that the Persians and other Sun-worshippers did frequent the tops of conical mountains, whence they could catch the first beams and watch the last rays of their rising and setting Deity:[2] as indeed at this day do the Parsees or Ghebers in the East, and the Peruvians and inhabitants of La Plata in the West,[3]

> "To loftiest heights ascending, from their tops
> With myrtle wreathed tiara on their brows."*

Therefore I say it is not *impossible* that this may have been the origin of the great mound in question: though I confess such a conjecture carries little conviction to my mind: for in the first place, its immediate contiguity to the famous temple at Avebury seems to forbid its intention for such a purpose: and again, standing as it does, on comparatively low ground, and surrounded with undulating downs which tower above it, very limited indeed is the view from the summit, and this fact alone seems to deny that it had any such object.

But against the probability of its being the tomb of some Sovereign or famous Chieftain amongst the early Britons[4] I confess I have

[1] Herod., vii., 99. Strabo, xiv. Diod., xvi. Pliny, N. H., xxxvi., 4—9. Aul: Gell., xc., 18.

[2] Herodotus Clio, chap. 131. Rollin's Anc. Hist., ii., 136. Job xxxi., 26, 27.

[3] "Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered," vol. i., pp. 260, 265, 395.

* Wordsworth's Excursion, book iv. Gladstone's Studies on Homer, vol. iii. p. 169.

[4] Stukeley goes so far as to assume (though I must own he comes to conclusions on very slight premises) not only that Silbury is the tomb of the Royal founder of Avebury, but that the temple of Avebury was made for the sake of this tumulus: and then he adds, "I have no scruple to affirm 'tis the most magnificent *Mausoleum* in the world, without excepting the Egyptian Pyramids:" and then giving the reins to his fanciful imagination, he continues, "this huge snake and circle (meaning the avenues and temple of Avebury) made of stones,

seen no arguments of any force, while there are many primâ facie reasons to induce us to assign this as its origin. For though it is perfectly true that nothing indicating it to be a place of sepulture was discovered, either by the Duke of Northumberland and Colonel Drax, when they sunk their shaft from the top towards the close of the last century,[1] or by the Archæological Institute, when they drove their tunnel into the centre from the side in 1849,[2] yet I contend that these failures proved nothing more than the unpropitious fortune of the excavators: for if the vast area of the whole mound be considered, and the comparatively narrow passages which pierced it to its centre, like puny bodkins probing a whale,[3] surely, (to use a homely proverb,) it was like searching for a needle in a hay-rick, and a marvel it would have been, if without a clue to guide them, they had hit upon the cromlech, always supposing one, or more (for there may be several), to exist.

Again, however geometrically exact the engineer may have been in driving his tunnel into the exact centre, and however accurately the perpendicular shaft may have attained the same spot, (though by the way they did not meet, for it was in cutting a diagonal passage from the tunnel that the workmen came upon the shaft,)[4] yet how improbable is it, that the cromlech would retain its position in the exact centre, assuming for a moment (which I shall presently show to have been unlikely) that it was *intended* to be near the middle of the mound: for even in this case, those rude workmen, (the

hangs, as it were, brooding over Silbury-Hill, in order to bring again to a new life the person there buried." [Abury, p. 41.]

[1] Douglas's Nenia Britannica, p. 161.

[2] Without at all impugning the decision of the late Dean of Hereford, who heard their statements, it would have been satisfactory to have learned on what grounds he rejected the testimony of the two old men in the neighbourhood whom he examined, and who both asserted that the miners from Cornwall who dug into Silbury by direction of the Duke of Northumberland in 1777 found "a man," meaning a skeleton. [Salisbury Journal, p. 74.]

[3] This is an allusion to a large whale stranded on the coast of Norfolk (of whose death throes I was an eye-witness from a yacht) despatched at last by a ship's spit, after an hour's fruitless attempts on the part of some fishermen to reach some vital part with their short knives. [See Zoologist for 1851, p. 3134.]

[4] Salisbury Journal, p. 300.

"navvies" of a remote age,) as they heaped up their vast tumulus, soon losing sight of the tomb to guide them, would necessarily fail to preserve it as their centre, and the more the mound increased under their exertions, so in inverse ratio the chances diminished of the cromlech retaining its original position in reference to its gigantic covering. Moreover it is not probable that the workmen would have been at any *pains* to preserve it as a centre, even if it had been so at the first heaping up of the earth.

Thus I deny that anything like a satisfactory examination of the interior of Silbury has yet taken place, or that the fruitless researches hitherto made are any proof that it contains no cromlech. And now having answered the only objection put forth against the sepulchral theory, I come to state the arguments I am able to adduce in its favour: and here I would submit, that where absolute proof is wanting, and, (until at least some further research is made) opinions formed can at the last be but conjectures, rendered more or less probable by the arguments adduced, it is quite fair to reason from analogy: and here certainly the countless barrows which stud the downs in every direction around Silbury being themselves places of sepulture, proclaim the great hill to be the same. I need not stop to prove that to heap a mound of earth over their dead, as a sort of protection to their remains, has been the most ancient and uniform practice of all nations,[1] a fact referred to by the oldest extant authors of all countries,[2] and of which we have in Wiltshire,

[1] The *Soros* which marks the grave of the Athenian dead is still a conspicuous object on the plain of Marathon. [Wordsworth's Pictorial Greece, p. 113. Leakes Demi of Attica, p. 99. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. iii. p. 505.]

[2] The following list I have found in an unpublished MS. of Aubrey, and which I have considerably amplified: the figures marked thus (*) being additions to Aubrey's catalogue:

De Tumulis.

Josh: xxiv. 33. vii. 25, 26. viii. 29.
2 Sam: xviii. 17.
Homeri Iliad: ii. *793. 811—815.
vi. *419.
vii. 332—336. *435. *86.
xi. *55. *166. *372.
xvi. *457. 667—675.
xxiii. 245—255.

and especially on the Marlborough downs more ocular proof than perhaps any where else: and now I would ask, what appearance does Silbury present, but that of a gigantic barrow? though to to adapt the words of the Roman poet,

"Micat inter omnes
Silbury collis, velut inter ignes
Luna minores."

And how comes it that the downs round Avebury abound for miles in every direction with such innumerable barrows, but that they form, as it were, a vast graveyard to the colossal temple there, a kind of Mecca where the faithful would desire to lay their bones, a Westminster Abbey in the remote age of the Druids?[1]

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xxiv. 791—799.
—— Odyss: xii. Elpenor's Tomb.
xxiv. 722.

Herodotus i. *93. iv. *71. v. *8: wherein he respectively describes the Lydian, Scythian, and Thracian Barrows.

Virgil Æneid iii. 63. *304.
v. *605.
vi. 232—235. *380. *505.
vii. 1—6.
xi. *103. *594. 850.

Ovid Metam. vii. 362.
xiv. 84. 101.

Tacitus de Mor: Germ: c. 27. Annales, lib. i. c. 62.

Seneca de Consol: ad Polyb: § 37.

Appian, pt. 2, c. 2, § 27.

Cicero de legib: lib. 2.

Vopiscus de Probo, wherein it is stated that Arcadius had a tumulus erected for him 200 feet broad.

[1] "All around Stonehenge are barrows extending to a considerable distance from the temple, but all in view of it, so that like Christians of the present age, ancient Britons thought proper to bury their dead near where they worshipped the Supreme Being." [Spencer's Wilts, p. 79.] Stukeley in his Itiner: Curios: vol. i. p. 128, describing what he supposed to be "Carvilii tumulus," the grave of a king of the Belgæ near Wilton, within sight of Stonehenge, says, "I question not but one purpose of this interment was to be in sight of the holy work or temple of Stonehenge;" "and here," he concludes, "rest the ashes of Carvilius, made immortal by Cæsar for bravely defending his country." Again, he says, speaking of the vast number of barrows round Stonehenge, "We may very readily count fifty at a time in sight from the place," and again at a short distance off he declares he could count 128 barrows in sight. [Stonehenge, pp. 43, 45. Abury, p. 40.] See also "Lost Solar System of the

But if it be objected that from their inferior size, the analogy of the barrows is of little value, and so to argue from such premises carries little weight, I reply in the first place that many of the barrows which stud our downs are not at all despicable in bulk even now, when the tendency of ages, especially where assisted by the plough, has been materially to diminish their height, and bring them down to the level of the plain: indeed those who have attempted to excavate some of the larger ones will bear me out in my statement, that they are extremely deceptive, and are really very much larger than the casual observer would suppose. But not to insist too strongly on this point, I pass on to the grand climax of my argument, viz., the analogy of other tumuli of colossal dimensions in other countries, which by recent excavations and recent discoveries have been positively *proved* to be sepulchral. And I would beg of the reader to observe as we pass on, in how many cases the discovery of the interment was the result of pure accident; how in others their sepulchral character had been denied, till proof positive set the question at rest for ever: and how in several instances the interments were not found in the centre of the mound, but at the side; for these are all questions nearly affecting the point now under examination, and may materially help us in forming our conclusions on the probable object of Silbury, when we shall have weighed all the evidence I can bring to bear upon it.

The first tumulus which I adduce is in the sister kingdom of Ireland, and is generally known in that country as "New Grange." It is one of four great sepulchral mounds, situated on the banks of the Boyne, between Drogheda and Slane, in the county of Meath, and which have been not inaptly termed "the *Pyramids* of Ireland." It is the only one of the four, whose interior has been exposed to human curiosity, but there is every reason to believe that if explored, the others would be found similar in nature to the one in question. I extract the particulars of it from the second vol. of Archæologia, and the Dublin Journal of March 1833, corroborated by the evidence of my father, who visited it, and made a personal

Ancients discovered," p. 113; and Sir R.C. Hoare's Ancient Wilts, i. 250. ii. 113.

inspection of the interior in 1848.[1] It is now (as the learned antiquary Governor Pownall tells us) but a ruin of what it originally was, though it still covers two acres of ground, and has an elevation of about 70 feet; but its original height was not less than 100 feet, as it has been used for ages as a stone quarry, for the making and repairing of roads and the erection of buildings in the neighbourhood. It is formed of small stones, covered over with earth, and at its base was encircled by a line of stones of enormous magnitude, placed in erect positions,[2] and varying in height from four to eleven feet above the ground, and supposed to weigh from ten to twelve tons each: these stones as well as those of which the grand interior chamber is built, are not found in the neighbourhood of the tumulus, but have been brought hither from the mouth of the river Boyne, a distance of seven or eight miles. The interior of the tumulus, was accidentally made known in the year 1699, when a Mr. Campbell, who resided in the neighbouring village, in carrying away stones from it to repair a road, discovered the entrance to a gallery or passage leading into a sepulchral chamber. This entrance was about 50 feet from the original side of the Pyramid, and is placed due South, and runs Northward: the length of this passage to the entrance of the chamber is about 58 feet, its breadth and height gradually narrowing till at about 18 feet from the entrance

[1] See Mr. Edward Lhwyd's description of it, in a letter to Mr. Rowlands at the end of Mona Antiqua; and that by Dr. Thomas Molineux, published first in the Philosoph: Transactions No. 335 and 336, and afterwards in his discourse on Danish forts in Ireland: above all, see Governor Pownall's description in the Archæologia, vol. ii. pp. 236—275. Also Journal of Archæological Institute, iii. 156. Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, plate in vol. ii. p. 43. Dublin Penny Saturday Journal. vol. i. p. 305.

[2] In the Salisbury vol. of the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute in 1849, p. 74, Dean Merewether in speaking of Silbury, says, "It is remarkable, though I have not seen it noticed by former writers, that the verge of the base is set round with sarsen stones, three or four feet in diameter and at intervals of about eighteen feet; of these however, only eight are now visible, although others may be covered with the detritus of the sloping sides of the tumulus, and overgrown with turf." This is clearly a mistake, though it is astonishing how the Dean, usually so careful, fell into such an error, for there is, and there has been for very many years, but one small stone visible on the Northern side of the base. [See Mr. Long's "Abury Illustrated" in Wiltshire Magazine, vol. iv. p. 339.]

it reaches a stone which is laid across in an inclined position, and which seems to forbid further progress: beyond this, the gallery immediately expands again to the width of three feet, and to the height of from six to ten feet at the entrance of the dome. The chamber is an irregular circle, about 22 feet in diameter, covered with a dome of a bee-hive form, constructed of massive stones laid horizontally and projecting one beyond the other, till they approximate and are finally capped with a single one: the height of the dome is about 20 feet. The chamber has three quadrangular recesses, forming a cross, one facing the entrance gallery, and one on each side: in each of these recesses was placed a stone urn or *sarcophagus*, of a simple bowl form, two of which remain to this day: of these recesses the East and the West are about eight feet square, the North is somewhat deeper. The entire length of the cavern from the entrance of the gallery to the end of the recess is 81 feet 8 inches. The stones of which the entire structure consists are of great size, viz., from 12 to 18 feet long by 6 broad; a great number of the stones within the chamber, as well as in the gallery, are carved with spiral, lozenge-shaped, and zig-zag lines, and in the West chamber there are marks, which have been supposed, though perhaps without reason, to be an alphabetic inscription. That this large tumulus was constructed "as a *tomb* or great *sepulchral pyramid*," and that the "oval granite basins originally contained human remains" admits of no doubt: and as to its age, "by most of the learned and intelligent modern archæologists it is referred to the *most* remote period of Celtic occupation, and far beyond the time of the invasion of the Danes, to which people, like so many other Irish antiquities, it has been sometimes attributed; indeed it is generally supposed to be *coeval* with, by some to be even *anterior* to, its brethren on the Nile."[1] Such is the remarkable tumulus of New Grange in Ireland, apparently the very counterpart of Silbury: and I have been thus minute in giving all the

[1] Compare Mr. Scarth's account of this tumulus in his very able paper on "Ancient Chambered Tumuli," published in the 8th vol. of the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society: Taunton, 1859, pp. 24—27.

particulars I could glean, and especially the exact position, with reference to the points of the compass, of the chambers and gallery, because I am not without hopes that they may hereafter be useful to some future investigators of Silbury which perhaps may be found to contain similar treasures.

The next great mound to which I wish to direct attention, and this too externally bearing an exact resemblance to Silbury, is the largest of all the tumuli in Britany, the "Tumiac," situated at the South of that Province, near the end of the promontory in which Sazzeau is situated, and on the road to Arxon. It is about 280 feet in diameter, and 68 feet in height; or, to speak more accurately, it measured, according to the French style, 260 métres in circumference, and 20 métres in height, the métre being, (as it is almost needless to state) within a fraction of 40 inches English. Up to 1853 it had baffled the curiosity of antiquaries no less than Silbury has done to the present day, and then accident alone led to the discovery of a large sepulchral chamber *on one side*, for there was nothing to indicate the spot. This discovery took place in July of that year, under the auspices of the Société Polymatique, who opened a gallery at the base of the mound due South, or rather one point East of South. The entire mound proved to be composed of small stones or large pebbles thrown together, and through these the tunnel penetrated in a straight line running N.N.E. to the distance of about 140 feet, and then reached a square chamber, *at a considerable distance from its centre*, though far into the interior of the mound. This chamber was formed of three large granite pillars, placed sideways on a bed of stones supporting a large flat slab of quartz which formed the roof of the cromlech. On the sides of some of these stones, characters were to be traced, somewhat of a Syriac or Arabic form, though their meaning still remains an enigma not to be deciphered: within the chamber, which was exceedingly damp, the water continually dropping from the upper stone, was found a layer of dark dust, evidently the remains of decomposed wood; buried in which were 120 round beads, which probably formed a necklace: and in another part about half that number of larger round beads of jasper, which were supposed to

have composed a bracelet. Two groups of celts, or Druidical knives, fifteen in each group, were also discovered here; some highly polished and of great beauty, though the greater part were broken in two pieces. But to crown all, several fragments of bone were also found, which, though almost pulverized and in a very decomposed state, were identified by scientific anatomists to whom they were submitted, as *undoubtedly human:* indeed there were sufficient portions to indicate pretty clearly that the corpse was laid on a wooden plank at the end of the chamber along the North wall, the head to the East, and the feet towards the West. The accident which led to the discovery of this chamber was as singular as it was happy, for with nothing to guide them, the directors of the excavations pushed their tunnel right up to the very entrance of the chamber, whereas had they gone one point more to the East or West, they would have missed the only entrance to it, if not the cromlech itself. The above particulars I have taken from the Report, drawn up by M. Fouquet, the Secretary of the Société Polymathique, and addressed to the Préfet of the district:[1] and I have the greatest satisfaction in bringing forward this instance, both because my friend, the Rev. W. C. Lukis, chanced to be present soon after the discovery of the sepulchral chamber, and was an eye-witness of the particulars I have given above: and also because the fact of the sepulchre being at the side, speaks volumes to my mind with regard to Silbury, accounts for the failure of former investigators, whose whole energies were directed towards the centre, and suggests that it is no cenotaph, but still contains one or more tombs, to reward the perseverance of future excavators.

From Britany I pass through North Germany, remarking on the numerous barrows of various form and height which abound there, and are denominated "Kegelgräber," *conical* graves,[2] whose sepulchral object has never been called in question; but which, as they do not rival Silbury in bulk, I will not adduce in support of

[1] Rapport sur la découverte d'une Grotte Sépulcrale dans la butte de Tumiac le 21 Juillet 1853, adressé á Monsieur le Préfet du Morbihan, au nom de la Société Polymathique par le Secrétaire de cette Société le 1er Août 1853.

[2] Archæological Journal, xii., 387.

my argument. Thence I proceed to Northern Europe, and call attention to the large tumuli there, some of which are of such vast dimensions and adorned with such enormous blocks of stone (wherein the Northmen especially delighted) that they are still regarded by the natives as of stupendous magnificence:[1] it has never however been disputed there, that these are the tombs of the mighty dead, (whose souls wander, and whose shades drink mead out of the skulls of their enemies, in the halls of Valhalla) though I am not aware that any of the larger ones have been explored. Therefore I merely allude to them as we hurry by, but above all, I would point out as more particularly deserving of notice the great mounds of old Upsala, the sepulchres of the ancient "gods of Scandinavia" as they are called, the graves of Odin, Thor and Freya.[2]

And now I come to the vast empire of Russia, abounding as it does in large tumuli, and entering upon the almost boundless Steppe, we are told by an eminent traveller (the Baron Von Haxthausen) that "all trace of human life disappears, and the traveller sees nothing but the heavens above him, and the boundless flat green carpet spread out around, while here and there small and regularly formed mounds rise up to his view: on either side he perceives also low ridges of hills, and upon these again at intervals, large conically shaped mounds: the latter are occasionally surmounted by roughly cut stone figures, which look down like ghosts upon the silent desert. The country over which they are scattered, as already ascertained, comprises more than 600,000 square miles. The statues are made of a stone which is not found nearer than 400 miles from the spot where they have been erected; and this is the case with regard not to one statue only, but to thousands."[3] Such is the general aspect of the dreary Steppe, but some of the largest of these tumuli have been carefully examined by the Russians:

[1] Archæologia, vol. ii., p. 264. Monum. Dan., lib. i., c. vi. Monumenta Sueo-Gothica, lib. i., pp. 215—217.

[2] Northern Travel by Bayard Taylor: London, 1858, p. 17. See Murray's Handbook for Northern Europe, vol. ii.

[3] The Russian Empire, its people, institutions and resources, by Baron Von Haxthausen, vol. ii., chap. ii, pp. 79—80.

who even removed entirely the immense mound in the province of Ekatarinoslav near Alexandropol.[1] It took no less than five years to effect this, for it was 250 feet in height; and numerous articles in gold, silver, and bronze were discovered there, as well as *human bones* and skeletons of horses, proving its sepulchral character, and making it probable that it was one of the catacombs of the Scythian Kings described by Herodotus.[2] Again an enormous tumulus, called Altyn-obo, on the Golden Mountains, has been explored by the Russians. It was walled from top to bottom like a Cyclopean monument; and two others, somewhat smaller but similar in structure were also examined: they were *all* proved to be *sepulchral*, and tradition assigned them as the tombs of the mother of Mithridates and other members of his family.[3] Again on a spur of the Golden Mountains, called by the Tartars Kouloba, on the Hill of Cinders, is another large tumulus, which was also examined, and in which, in addition to several ornaments, arms, and vessels of a Scythian character, a human skeleton was found.[4]

And now I pass on to that fertile field for archæological research, abounding as it does with so much of interest and historical association, the immediate neighbourhood of Kertch, the particulars of which we learn from Dr. Duncan Mac Pherson,[5] who superintended

[1] Antiquities of Kertch by Duncan Mac Pherson, M.D., (Smith, Elder and Co.) p. 86.

[2] Herodotus Melpomene, chap. 71.

[3] Antiquities of Kertch by Dr. Mac Pherson, p. 60.

[4] Idem, p. 61. See also "Russia and the Black Sea" by Danby Seymour, Esq., M.P.

[5] The rich treasure found in the Crimean Kourgans, had long attracted observation, and most of these tumuli had been partially at least excavated, and many of them ransacked at various periods: in more modern times too, the Russians have carefully prosecuted Archæological research here, as in other parts of that vast Empire: but owing to the account of such investigations having been published only in Russian, a language rarely studied in this country, and in works difficult of access to the English antiquary, little was known of these discoveries to Western Archæologists, till the publication of an interesting Memoir given by Mons. Raoul Rochette in the *Journal des Savans.* More detailed accounts of these Kourgans are to be found in Herr Anton *Ashik's*, Description of a Panticapæan Catacomb "Kerchenskiya Drevnosti, &c." Odessa 1845 fol:—*Ermans* "Archiv für Wissenshaftliche Kunde von Russland." Band 4, 1844. *Demidoff's* voyage dans la Russie Méridionale, vol. i., 535 et seq: vol. ii., p. 1, et seq. Archæol. Journal, vi., 260.

the investigations made there during the Crimean campaign, and gave an account of his researches to the Archæological Institute in 1856 and 1857,[1] and subsequently more fully in his book on the "Antiquities of Kertch and researches in the Cimmerian Bosphorus." That indefatigable explorer tells us that the characteristic features around Kertch are the innumerable tumuli or *Kourgans* that abound in that locality: "they resemble gigantic cones, and are the sepulchres of the ancient world, the labour of the construction of which must have been prodigious and the expenditure enormous." Now Herodotus (whose statements were constantly verified by the discoveries made) relates that the Scythians dwelt on the Eastern side of the Caspian sea, and migrating Westward, arrived in the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, and that they expelled the Cimmerians who held this and the surrounding countries:[2] he farther tells us that the tombs were still to be seen in his time of the heroic Cimmerian Kings, who rather than cede their country to the invading Scythians preferred death from the hands of one another;[3] and again, speaking of the mode of regal burial among the Scythians, he says, "this done," (i.e. the body being deposited in a large four-cornered excavation in the earth) "they all set about raising a great barrow, vying with one another, and endeavouring to make it as large as possible."[4] Thus the Scythians adopted this mode of perpetuating the memory of their deceased princes. Moreover the Milesian Greeks, a family of the Ionians, who displaced the Scythians about B.C. 600, and planted colonies at Panticapæum and other places, appear to have

[1] Archæological Journal, xiv., 65—70; see also pp. 196—206.

[2] Herodotus, Melpomene, chapters i.—xi.

[3] Idem chap. xi. Rawlinson says that the Cimmerians, like the Mexican Aztecs, whom they resembled in some degree, have been swept away by the current of immigration, and except in the mounds which cover their land, and in the pages of the historian or ethnologist, not a trace remains to tell of their past existence. [Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. iii., p. 205.]

[4] Herodotus, Melpomene, cap. lxxi. See Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. iii. pp. 61—63, and with Herodotus's account of the burial of a Scythian King about B.C. 500, compare M. Huc's descriptions of a royal interment of modern days: the similarity of customs among these barbarians of such different ages being somewhat remarkable. [Voyage dans la Tartarie, pp. 115—16.]

adopted the same mode of burial.[1] But whoever were the founders, whether Cimmerians, Scythians or Greeks, the height and grandeur of these sepulchres of the ancients excite astounding ideas of the wealth and power of the people who formed them. In circumference they sometimes exceed 400 feet, and in altitude 150 feet, and they are formed from surface soil, heaps of stone confusedly thrown together, with *débris* of every sort, each successive layer being distinctly traced, either by a difference of colour in the subsoil, or by a layer of sea-weed or rushes, which had been laid on the surface, probably with the view of preventing the moisture of the fresh earth pressing into, and displacing that immediately under it. It would occupy too much space to follow Dr. Mac Pherson through the details of his discoveries, deeply interesting though they are: sufficient for our purpose that he "drove tunnels into the centre of seven of these huge mounds," the greater part of which proved to have been previously explored: enough however remained amply to prove their *sepulchral* character. Moreover he was fortunate in his selection, inasmuch as each of the large mounds opened presented distinct varieties either in the construction of the tomb, or the mode of sepulture. Thus in the first, measuring 80 feet in height, though nothing was found on arriving at the centre, but a few amphoræ, yet *branching off a little to the left*, an oblong space was discovered, containing among other things, *human* and animal bones. In another, a stone *sarcophagus* was found in the centre of the mound, considerably beneath the natural surface. In another, a stone *tomb* was found, also below the natural surface of the ground. The fourth was quite a mountain, and contained two chambers of hewn stone. In another enormous tumulus examined, the earth was merely heaped up on a natural peak of coral rag, formed by huge boulders of stone, and here too *human* bones were found: while the last tumulus explored was composed entirely of sand. And in addition to these which have been examined, mention is made of a "large artificial hill (at the extreme West of the

[1] When Darius advanced against the Scythians, he came upon barrows of a larger size and better material than common, which Herodotus says he built, and calls them *forts*; but which Dahlmann shows to have been most unlikely: (life, p. 120, E.T.) But barrows covered then without doubt, as they still cover, the whole country. [Rawlinson's Herodotus, iii., 104—106, notes.]

ancient city of Panticapæum) evidently the work of man, though the height and size are so remarkable that it is difficult to believe the mound to be the result of human labour; in shape it is hemispherical, and its substance consists of large stones confusedly heaped together." Such are the wonderful Crimean Kourgans, those vast tumuli *proved* to have been sepulchral; and I cannot dismiss my account of them, without calling attention to the remark of Mr. Winter Jones in his very interesting paper on the Kertch antiquities, published long before the Crimean campaign and Dr. Mac Pherson's discoveries; a remark with which he sums up his observations, and which I most heartily commend to any future explorers of Silbury; "The English Archæologist will not fail to recognize the curious coincidence in the fact of the deposit in these *Kurgans* being commonly on the North-East side of the tumulus, which is in accordance with the observation frequently made in the examination of barrows in our own country." [1]

Thus far as regards the larger tumuli of Europe, and I have dwelt so long on the details of some of the most interesting of them, *all* of which have been *proved* to be sepulchral, that I must endeavour to compress my remarks on those in the other quarters of the globe, confining my account of most of them to a bare enumeration of their localities; and I can yet point to many a large mound, either proved or traditionally declared to contain the mortal remains of men, not only in Asia and Africa, but even in America and Australia, showing that this was the natural impulse of primitive uncivilized races in *all* parts of the world, to commemorate their dead in so simple but enduring a manner.

And first we have but to cross the Straits from Kertch and the Tauric Chersonese, abounding as that region does in tumuli of every size, and we find that on the plains round Phanagoria on the Asiatic side the country is no less full of them: here too they are essentially of Milesian and Scythian structure, for the same people colonized both districts.[2]

And now passing on to that most classic of all lands, the plains

[1] Archæological Journal, vol. vi., p. 266.

[2] Mac Pherson's Antiquities of Kertch.

of Troy, we find a large tumulus said to be the tomb of Æsietes, so large as to meet your eye wherever you turn throughout the whole extent of the plain,[1] and from which Polites reconnoitred the Grecian armament:

> "Who from Æsetes' tomb observ'd the foes
> High on the mound; from whence in prospect lay
> The fields, the tents, the navy and the bay." *

Beyond this stand the smaller barrows commonly assigned to Antilochus, Achilles,[2] Patroclus and Ajax:[3] one of which has been recently opened by its English proprietor, Mr. Calvert, HBM Consul at the Dardanelles, and calcined *human bones* found therein.[4] More recently the vast tumulus of Hanai Tepeh in the Troad has been examined, likewise by Mr. Calvert, who notwithstanding its enormous size, entertained grave doubts of its being a natural hill, as was usually supposed, and as Dr. Forschammer thought; who in his observations on the Topography of Troy, published in the Journal of the Geographical Society for 1842[5] says "that its immense size rendered its being artificial improbable, though" (he adds) "excavation alone can settle this point." Through Mr. Calvert's exertions not only its artificial, but its *sepulchral* character has been proved, (as he has announced in a recent Number of the Archæological Journal,)[6] calcined human bones having been found therein in such marvellous quantity, as to induce the supposition

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[1] Diary in Turkish and Greek waters, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle, pp. 89, 90.

* Pope's Homers Iliad, ii., 961.

[2] When Alexander landed on the coast of Troy his first care was to pay magnificent funeral honours to the shade of the hero Achilles, during which he himself, in imitation of the ancient rites, ran naked and on foot round the barrow which covered the hero's remains.

> "That mighty heap of gathered ground
> Which Ammon's son ran proudly round." [Byron.]

The barrows which are erected on the shores of the Hellespont to Hector and Ajax, are, according to Kohl, exactly like the barrows which commemorate Odin and Thor, and other Scandinavian heroes. [Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, ii., 246.]

[3] Lord Carlisle's Diary in Turkish and Greek waters, p. 89, 90. Byron's Bride of Abydos, Canto ii., 4.

[4] Carlisle's Diary, &c., p. 158.

[5] Vol. xii. [6] Vol. xvi., pp. 1—6.

that it was the funeral pile of a very great number of bodies, and is suggestive of that most probably raised by the Trojans after the first truce mentioned in the Iliad,[1]

> "When those deputed to inter the slain
> Heap'd with the rising pyramid the plain:
> .....
> High in the midst they heap'd the swelling bed
> Of rising earth, memorial of the dead."

And now leaving the plain of Troy for that of Sardis, we come to the famous tomb of Alyattes, the father of Cræsus, who died about B.C. 560, a barrow of proportions so gigantic, that it may well be called an artificial mountain. Though constructed of earth, and not of stone, a barrow and not a pyramid, and therefore not requiring so large an amount of labour as the vast works of Egypt, it was nevertheless compared for magnificence by Herodotus who had seen it, with the constructions of Egypt and Babylon: indeed he says that, with the exception of the gold dust washed down from the range of Tmolus, it is the only wonder of Lydia for the historian to notice.[2] The tumulus was visited and described by Mr. Hamilton in his work on Asia Minor, and recently has been accurately measured by M. Spiegenthal, Prussian Consul at Smyrna, who has also carefully explored the interior: he gives the average diameter of the mound as about 250 métres, or 281 yards, which produces a circumference of almost exactly half a mile, which was the rough estimate conjectured by Mr. Hamilton as he rode round it.[3] "Towards the North it consists of the natural rock, a white horizontally-stratified earthy limestone, cut away so as to appear as part of the structure, (wherein it bears a striking resemblance to Silbury.) The upper portion is sand and gravel, apparently brought from the bed of Hermus: several deep ravines have been worn by time and weather on its sides, particularly on that to the South: we followed one of these as affording a better footing than the smooth grass, as we ascended to the summit. Here we found the remains of a foundation nearly eighteen feet square, on the North of which was a huge circular stone, ten feet in diameter,

[1] Pope's Homer's Iliad, book xxiii. [2] Clio, chap. 93.
[3] Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i., p. 232.

with a flat bottom, and a raised edge or lip, evidently put there as an ornament on the apex of the tumulus. Herodotus says that *phalli* were placed upon the summit of some of these tumuli, of which this may be one; but Mr. Strickland supposes that a rude representation of the human face might be traced on its weather-beaten surface. In consequence of the ground sloping to the South, this tumulus appears much higher when viewed from the side of Sardis than from any other. It rises at an angle of about 22°, and is a conspicuous object on all sides."[1] In the interior, into which M. Spiegenthal drove a tunnel, he was fortunate enough to discover a sepulchral chamber, composed of large blocks of white marble, highly polished, situated exactly in the centre of the tumulus: the chamber was somewhat more than eleven feet long, nearly eight feet broad, and seven feet high: it was empty, but the mound outside the chamber showed traces of many former excavations: it was pierced with galleries, and contained a great quantity of bones, partly human, partly those of animals; also a quantity of ashes, and abundant fragments of urns. Undoubtedly the chamber had been rifled at a remote period, and the mound had been used in Post-Lydian times as a place of general sepulture: hence the remains of urns, and the human bones and ashes: there can be little doubt that the marble chamber was the actual resting place of the Lydian King.[2] It is worthy of remark that the internal construction of the mound was not found by M. Spiegenthal in any way to resemble that of the famous tomb of Tantalus near Smyrna, explored by M. Texier.[3] Besides this barrow of Alyattes, there are a vast number of ancient tumuli on the shores of the Gygean Lake: three or four of these, scarcely inferior in size to that of Alyattes, may probably be the tombs of other Lydian Kings.[4]

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[1] Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i., p. 145—6.

[2] Compare Rawlinson's Herodotus, note to book i., cap. 214, for an account of the sepulchral chamber of Cyrus, with which the dimensions of this nearly coincide.

[3] See Texier's Asie Mineure, vol. ii., p. 252, et. seq: and for M. Spiegenthal's account of his excavations, see the Monatsbericht der Königl: Preussisch: Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Dec., 1854, pp. 700—702. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i., p. 234.

[4] Chandler's Tour in Asia Minor, ch. 78, p. 302.

And now from Asia Minor we pass on to Asia Proper, and here I forbear to dwell on the vast mounds of unburnt brick at Babylon, though the mound of Babil rises from the plain to the height of 140 feet, (the Northern and Southern faces at the base measuring 200 yards in length, while the Eastern and Western are respectively 182 and 136 yards):[1] and the great mound of Mugheir, though less colossal, is of no mean proportions; being 198 feet in length, and 133 feet in breadth. But I must not pause upon these, for they have but slight pretensions of a sepulchral nature,[2] both being generally allowed to have been erected as the platforms of temples, the former crowned with the temple of *Belus*, the latter with that of *Sin*.[3] Not so however the monument of Ninus raised at Nineveh by Semiramis over the tomb of her husband, and which, according to Rich, is an artificial mound in the form of a truncated pyramid: it is 178 feet in height, 1850 feet in length, and 1147 feet in breadth, very near the size of the pyramid of Cholula: this is without doubt an enormous structure, though when Diodorus quotes Ctesias to prove that its dimensions are 9 stadia high and 10 broad, that is to say that it is of superior elevation to Mount Vesuvius, and nearly equal to Mount Hecla, he is guilty of a manifestly gross exaggeration.[4]

And now we pass on to the huge Tartarian mounds called "Bougres," which overspread much of the desert country occupied

[1] Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii., p. 576.

[2] The author however of the "Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered," (a very valuable work, to which I often have occasion to refer,) speaking of the mound of Belus, the "Mujelibe," says that "*skeletons were found in it*;" he says it is oblong, of an irregular height, and gives the dimensions as 650 feet long by 450 feet broad; and its highest elevation 141 feet, (vol. ii. 371). The same author says there are many more large mounds in the neighbourhood, nearly or quite as large as the Mujelibe, one measured 126 feet in height (p. 372). Again, the mound of Khorsabad in Assyria is 983 feet long: the Kalah Shergat, a triangular mound near the Tigris is 60 feet high, 909 yards in extent, with a total circumference of 4685 yards. The Birs Nimroud, (or mound of Borsippa which Rich says is 235 feet high,) 762 feet in circumference: the Kasr, 2100 feet: and the Koyunjik at Nineveh, 2563 in circumference, &c, (vol. i., p. 156, ii., 66, 371—4.

[3] Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i., p. 615, ii., 576.

[4] Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, ii., 332, 394.

by the Calmuc Tartars, and which from time to time have been plundered by the wandering hordes of that people, and their sepulchral character fully proved.[1] We learn from M. de Stehlin, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburgh, that these Bougres or barrows are not found beyond the latitude of 58°, but only in the Southern parts of Siberia, and that they are generally constructed of earth, thrown up in the form of a cone, but flat on the summit. They are of all dimensions; the circumferences of some are of 30 Russian toises, others 50, 100, or even 500 toises: their altitudes are also various, some of 5, 6, 12, 20, or even 30 Russian toises, each toise measuring seven English feet. In all that have been opened, decayed or burnt human bones were invariably found; but about one hundred years since a thorough examination of the largest of all was made; the officer in charge of the excavations supposing that the barrow of largest dimensions most probably contained the ashes of the prince or chief: nor was he mistaken: for after removing a very deep covering of earth and stones, the workmen came to three vaults, constructed of stone of rude workmanship; the central one which was the largest, containing the remains of the prince with his spear, sword, bow and quiver: a smaller one to the East, containing the remains of the princess, distinguished by her female ornaments, chains, and bracelets; and that to the West, the skeleton of the chieftain's horse, with bridle, saddle and stirrups. Many more of the larger tumuli were opened, and many curious articles found with the human remains: but the above, as the largest, was the most remarkable: the position of the bodies was always found to be the same; they were laid with the head to the East or S.E.[2]

And now we come to the Steppes of Issim; and near the river

[1] See Strahlenberg's History of Russia and Tartary, pp. 4, 325, 330. Also Bell's Journey from Petersburgh to Pekin, vol. i., p. 209, and Archæologia, vol. ii., 33, page 222—235. Some account of Tartarian Antiquities, in a letter from Paul Demidoff, Esq., at Petersburgh to Mr. Peter Collinson, September 17, 1764.

[2] Archæologia, vol. ii., p. 222 et seq: also p. 263 et seq: containing Governor Pownall's account of the same. See also some description of the Scythian or Tartarean barrows and the finding of human bones therein, in "Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered," vol. ii., p. 246.

Irtisch are "many large tumuli, covering up the ashes of ancient heroes, who have passed over these scenes ages ago; but whether they indicate battle-fields, or simply the burial places of a tribe or nation, it is impossible to say:" they are almost invariably placed on high land, near the great rivers, and command views over the whole country.[1] But to come to particulars: on the N.W. side of the river Bouchtarma there is a conical mount quite peculiar in its form and exceedingly picturesque, and in the neighbourhood are many ancient tumuli, some of which have been opened, and warlike implements found in them.[2] In China, several versts to the North of Tchin-si, stands a very large tumulus, surrounded by many others of smaller dimensions:[3] and again, near the Chinese town of Tchoubachach, in a rocky valley, is another barrow of vast size, 150 feet in height, and regular in its form.[4] "All these" (says Mr. Atkinson in his admirable work on Siberia) "have been thrown up by a people of whom we have no trace, and in this part of Asia such ancient works are extremely numerous: on the Kirghis Steppe too, there are many and some very large tumuli scattered over the Steppe, thrown up at different periods, and by different races: but the larger tumuli are the most ancient: one of these, composed of stones, is a circle of 364 feet in diameter, forming a dome-like mound 37 feet high. To whom this tomb belongs the Kirghis have not even a tradition, but they attribute all such works to demons, and say their master Shaitan has been the chief director."[5] Similar testimony to the existence of vast tumuli at the foot of the Altai, and also on the banks of the Irtisch among the Calmucs and Kirghises, and to their sepulchral character, is borne by the Russian exploring mission in Siberia in 1733, and by Pallas in 1759.[6]

Nor is the island of Ceylon without its gigantic tumuli; they are for the most part cased in brick, which is an advance upon the more primitive mound, and are called "Dagobahs"[7] or shrines, and

[1] Oriental and Western Siberia, by T. W. Atkinson: Hurst and Blackett, 1858, p. 168.

[2] Idem, p. 235. [3] Idem, p. 537. [4] Idem, p. 558.

[5] Atkinson's Oriental and Western Siberia, p. 566.

[6] Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, vol. ii., p. 249.

[7] "*Dagoba*" either from *datu* a relic and *gabbhan* a shrine, (Tennent's Ceylon,

some of the largest of them have been proved to be sepulchral. We have the authority of Sir James Tennent for asserting that they are scarcely exceeded in altitude and diameter by the Dome of St. Peter's.[1] Those of Anooradhapoora, which out-top all others, were originally no less than 400 feet high: some of their ruins even now are 220 feet in perpendicular height, and the outer wall exceeds $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in length. Thus, the Dagoba of Bintenne is still 100 feet high, although now much decayed:[2] that of Rankot, nearly 200 feet high:[3] that of the Golden Dust, one of the most celebrated in Ceylon, erected B.C. 160, still 150 feet high:[4] the stupendous one called Abhayagiri, originally 405 feet high, and still (after the lapse of above 2000 years) more than 240 feet in height:[5] another described as 249 feet high, and 360 in diameter, so that its contents exceed twenty millions of cubical feet.[6] Such are the gigantic Dagobas of Anooradhapoora,[7] "structures whose stupendous dimensions, and the waste and misapplication of labour lavished on them, are hardly outdone even in the instance of the pyramids of Egypt: and in the infancy of art, the origin of these 'high places' seems to have been the ambition to expand the earthen mound which covered the ashes of the dead into the dimensions of the eternal hills."

So far for the larger tumuli of Asia: the remaining quarters of the globe will not detain us long, but as we approach Africa, we cannot pass by the pyramids of Egypt, to which the brick Dagobas of Ceylon very easily conduct us; and which are none other than artificial tumuli, in advance of the more primitive sepulchral mounds of earth, the ruder work of less civilized nations. Grand from their colossal size, and noble from their strength, solidity, and simple form, they stand out to mock the perishing monuments

p. 345,) or from *deha* the body and *gopa* that which preserves, (Wilson's Asiatic Researches) either derivation pointing to the sepulchral character of the tumulus, with which we are chiefly concerned; each Dagobah professing to enshrine portions of the deified body of Gotama Buddha himself.

[1] Ceylon, vol. i., p. 346. [2] Idem, vol. ii., p. 421.
[3] Idem, vol. ii., p, 590. [4] Idem, vol. ii., p. 620.
[5] Idem, vol. ii., p. 621. [6] Idem, vol. ii., p. 623.
[7] Idem, vol. ii., p. 624. See Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, ii., 110—111.

of later ages. As it is interesting to compare their dimensions with those of Silbury, I have taken pains to ascertain the most accurate measurements, as given not long since by the French engineers. The base of the great pyramid (that of Cheops) was found to measure 232·747 métres (763 feet 7 inches) and its height 139·117 métres (456 feet 5 inches) the whole mass containing nine million cubic feet, and covering above eleven acres, the area of its base nearly coinciding with Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The second pyramid, (that of Chephren) presents a breadth of base of 700 feet, and a height of 425 feet; its summit (as is well known) remains uninjured, and shows the ancient casing of plaster, consisting of gypsum, sand and pebbles. The third pyramid (that of Mycerinus) measures 300 feet at the base, and 173 feet in height. Nearly in the centre of the two largest pyramids are small sepulchral chambers, containing a single sarcophagus, but the chambers are of very diminutive size when compared with the whole mass of the pyramid.[1] Farther on in the interior of the country in the midst of the vast expanse of the Sahel, where the traces of men are so slight, the eye is attracted by an object bespeaking an altogether different order of things. This is a conical pyramid, standing on the highest part of the Sahel, which even from that distance indicates that it must have been raised by the hand of man, and formed of material of a more durable character than the ordinary soil of the hills. Among the natives it is known by the name of "Khober el Roumiyeh" *Tomb of the Roman woman* (or the Christian woman), and appears on the charts under that of "Tombeau de la Reine." Shaw says that in his time the Turks called it "Maltapasi" *the treasure of the sugar loaf.* Really it is an old Mauritanian work, called by the Roman geographer Mela[2] "monumentum commune regiæ gentis," the common monument of the Royal family: it may be seen for many miles out at sea, and from the whole of the Northern crest of the Atlas, and forms the best of landmarks.[3] In

[1] Encyclopædia Metropolitana, Article Pyramid. Herodotus, book ii., cap. 124—134. Rollin's Ancient History, book i., chap. 2.

[2] Mela, de situ orbis, i., 6, 10.

[3] Four months in Algeria, by Rev. J. W. Blakesley, 1859, p. 126.

the province of Constantine there is another tumulus, called by the French "the tomb of Syphax," 166 feet in diameter, and 16 feet in height.[1] But little acquainted as we are with the interior of Africa we learn that there are other mouuments of a sepulchral character, erected by a race whose very name has perished, who not only showed in the large tumuli they erected over their dead a similarity of custom with their Northern and Eastern contemporaries; but who erected for religious purposes quadrangular pillars of stone of enormous size, with others lying transversely on the top, bearing a striking resemblance to those at Stonehenge, and proving an identity of worship as well as of sepulture.[2]

And now we cross the Atlantic to the New World and are perhaps astonished to find there similar monuments of considerable antiquity, the work of the aborigines of a remote age, and containing the bones of the ancient inhabitants. And yet the aborigines of America seem to have had grander conceptions of earth-works, and to have carried them out on a far more gigantic scale than any with which we are acquainted in the Old World, for it was their practice first to heap up an enormous mound,[3] the interior of which served as a sepulchre for their Kings and principal persons, and then to surmount the tumulus with a temple of hewn stone: often they would encase their mound of earth with a solid wall of stone, and almost universally, ranges of shallow steps led up to the summit, sometimes nearly 200 feet above the plain. At Copan in Honduras there exist to this day the ruins of one of these structures of earth and stone, so gigantic in dimensions, that it can only be compared to the area of the great pyramid at Ghizeh: it is 624 feet in length,

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[1] Idem, p. 320.

[2] Barth's Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, *passim:* See particularly the account and illustration of the aboriginal structure near the glen of Wadi Ran, near Tripoli, p. 58—61 of vol. i.

[3] The learned author of the Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, declares, that it is impossible to read the descriptions which Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have left of the temple of Jupiter Belus, without being struck with the features of resemblance which the Babylonian monument presents when compared with the teocallis of Anahuac, (vol. i., p. 353; also vol. ii., 145).

about 90 feet in perpendicular height, and 140 feet on the slope.[1] Another of nearly equal size exists at Guatemala,[2] and others are to be seen at Uxmal, Papantla[3] and Palenque:[4] but at Cholula stands by far the largest of all, in perpendicular height 177 feet; its base 1423 feet long, twice as long as the great pyramid of Cheops; while it covers no less than 44 acres, and the platform on its truncated summit embraces more than one.[5] At this day it is called "the mountain made by the hands of man;" and in the interior were found considerable cavities which served for sepulchres: the discovery of which was owing to accident not ten years ago.[6] But in addition to those enumerated we can point to many mounds of great size and undoubtedly sepulchral. Thus in the valley of Mexico, eight leagues N.E. from the capital, lies a plain which from the vast group of sepulchral tumuli which it contains, bears the name of "Micoatl" or "the Path of the Dead."[7] Here are two larger tumuli dedicated to the Sun and the Moon, and these are surrounded by several hundreds of smaller mounds, which serve, according to the tradition of the natives, as burial places for the chiefs of the tribes,[8] just as around the larger pyramids of Egypt

[1] Incidents of travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan, by Stevens and Catherwood, p. 81.

[2] Idem, p. 365. [3] Idem, p. 511. [4] Idem, p. 418.

[5] Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, book iii., ch. i. See also vol, ii., p. 5, 6,—67, for the vast mound at Mexico: p. 328—332, for the venerable pyramid of Teotihuacan: p. 123—124 for the teocallis: also 275—276: also vol. iii., p. 311. Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, i., 357.

[6] I cannot forbear quoting the following passage from Mr. Helps' "Spanish Conquests of America" to show how profound an appreciation of the skill and perseverance of the aborigines in those parts, as displayed by their earthworks and buildings, that talented and very pleasing author entertains: He says, "Those who wish to study the Indians must turn to the ruins of the temples or the tombs at Mitla Palenque and Copan; must investigate the primeval remains of buildings to be found on the borders of the vast lake of Titicaca and the adjacent plain of Tiahuaco; must consider well the Pyramids of Papantla and Cholula; and still further ponder over the clear signs of an early and considerable civilization, which seems to have existed in a somewhat similar form in places so wide asunder as Canada and the banks of the Orinoco, (vol. i., p. 288: see also vol. ii., p. 141.)

[7] Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, vol. ii., p. 332. Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, vol. i. p. 355.

[8] The Barrow-diggers, note to p. 44.

are the remains of many smaller ones in various stages of decay; and around the gigantic tomb of Alyattes, stand a multitude of more humble barrows which cover the remains of the Lydian Kings,[1] and (may I not remind the reader?) around Silbury, many sepulchral tumuli of smaller dimensions stud the downs on all sides.[2] There is also a very large tumulus at Grave Creek in Virginia, rising to the height of 70 feet, and measuring 1000 feet in circumference round the base. Another near Miamisburg, Montgomery County, Ohio, which is 68 feet in perpendicular height, and 852 feet in circumference at the base, and contains 311,353 cubic feet of earth: and that at Selserstown, Mississippi, which is computed to cover six acres of ground: in addition to the innumerable smaller mounds which stud the prairies; those in Ross County, Ohio, amounting to about 10,000, while they are scarcely less numerous in Virginia and the Kenhawas and other districts.[3] Again, beyond the Alleghanies exist many large sepulchral tumuli, the work of unknown nations; and many of them have been found to contain human bones. There is one near Wheeling 70 feet in height, between 30 and 40 rods in circumference, and 180 feet at the top. There is also a numerous group at the Chaokin, about 200 in all, the largest of which is 90 feet high, and 800 yards in circuit: the skulls found in these mounds are said to resemble those found in Peru.[4] In the Western States, Davies and Squier have made accurate measurements of 90 tumuli or mounds, and have excavated 115; and as a climax to the evidence in favour of the sepulchral theory here at least, I may state that among the larger mounds in the Southern States of the American Union which have been opened by Dickenson, one of them proved to be a vast cemetery, containing *many thousand human skeletons*.[5] In South America too, vast mounds of an irregular or more frequently oblong shape, penetrated by galleries running at right angles to each other, were heaped by

[1] Encyclopædia Metropolitana, vol. xxiii.

[2] Stukeley's Abury, p. 40.

[3] "Ancient chambered Tumuli," by Rev. H. M. Scarth, p. 7. Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, ii., 255.

[4] Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, vol. ii., 243.

[5] Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, ii., 256.

the Peruvians over their dead, whose dried bodies or mummies have been found in considerable numbers, sometimes erect, but more often in the sitting posture common to the Indian tribes of both continents.[1]

Lastly, even in New South Wales, we find tumuli of earth and of very considerable dimensions, though these are of comparatively recent construction:[2] and in the island of Otaheite large sepulchral cairns of stone are to be seen, called "Morai," the largest of which is a huge pile, said to measure 50 feet in height, 270 in length, and 94 in width.[3]

And now to sum up the evidence of all these witnesses of various nations and languages before us, what is the verdict to which they seem to lead us? We have seen that barrows of a very large size, as well as of inferior proportions, exist in almost every country, from North and South America to the Steppes of Tartary, in the country of the Hottentots, and in the interior of New South Wales: and that while the intention of the smaller ones was undoubtedly to commemorate the dead interred beneath, many of the larger ones which have been thoroughly explored have been proved to have had the same object. We have seen that the simple earthwork, (such as Silbury) was the most primitive method of commemorating their deceased chieftains among the earliest races in most countries, but as they advanced in civilization they sometimes supported their earthworks with brick (as in the case of the tombs, etc. of Babylon and Nineveh, the *teocallis* of Central America, and the *Dagobahs* of Ceylon), or they substituted stone, as in the Pyramids of Egypt. We have seen moreover that these earthworks (whose object, as monuments of the dead interred beneath, has been proved beyond dispute by excavation) have in many cases assumed proportions, not only as large as, but very much more gigantic than those of Silbury. And we have seen that the method of interment, and the position of the remains within the mound

[1] Prescott's Conquest of Peru, vol. i., chap. 3., p. 86.

[2] British Critic, vol. xvii., New Series, p. 493, A.D., 1818. See Oxley's Journal of two expeditions into the interior of New South Wales, in 1817, 1818. (Murray) 1820.

[3] Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, ii., 233.

were as varied as the races who have adopted this simple mode of commemoration; the sepulchral chamber having been found at the side of the tumulus, and towards every point of the compass, almost as frequently as in the centre of the mound.

With so many proofs, facts, and examples before us, and arguing from analogy, I confess that I entertain a very decided opinion that Silbury too was a place of sepulture; for what external features had many of these sepulchral tumuli which Silbury has not? and why may not our mound contain a goodly cromlech, perhaps several, not placed indeed in the centre, but at the side, where they were easily accessible to those who had the clue to their exact position; but for want of which we might long hunt in vain. I own that I can discover no satisfactory argument against such a supposition. But if it be still contended that the sepulchral theory is "not proven," I ask what more probable solution to the difficulty can be given? we shall then be either driven to the astronomical or stellar theory,[1] which I for one must look upon as fanciful and cannot at all accept: or we must consider it as a mount of worship and sacrifice,[2] which for the reasons given above I do not think probable: or as a post of observation, or beacon,[3]

[1] See "Druidical Temples of Wilts," by the Rev. E. Duke, whose theory of a stationary orrery on our downs on a meridional line, extending North by South sixteen miles, with the planets, seven in number, supposed to revolve round Silbury, deserves credit for its ingenuity, however little it may convince our judgment. [Salisbury Journal, p. 6.]

[2] The author of the "Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered" suggests the *possibility* of the sacrifices of human victims made by the Druids on the platform of Silbury, similar to those related by the Spaniards to have been made on the platform of the *teocallis* when Cortez arrived in Mexico, reminding us that the Druids were much addicted to human sacrifices, and that we have it on Cæsar's authority that Britain was the stronghold of Druidism, but I trust that this conjecture (though I feel bound to record it) will find no favour amongst our Wiltshire Antiquaries, (ii., 165).

[3] In his very interesting description of the antient tumular cemetery at Lamel-Hill near York, printed in the Journal of the Archæological Institute for 1849, Dr. Thurnam well observes, that not only were mounds raised in early times as exploratory posts or beacons, but that tumuli, really of a sepulchral origin, were also thus applied, (vol. vi., p. 28). And Sir R. C. Hoare in his Ancient Wilts has the following passage:—"A little to the West of Alfred's Tower is a large mound of earth, vulgarly called Jack's Castle, and generally considered

whence to keep watch, to guard against surprize, and to signal to similar eminences, which the nature of the surrounding hills entirely forbids us to suppose: or as a place of assembly for judicial and legislative purposes,[1] for which we have no authority whatever; though I am quite aware that these large tumuli having been found convenient, were sometimes made use of in this way: but I have yet to learn that we have any direct evidence of their being *erected* for such objects, against which the labour and necessary expense would strongly militate, when any *natural* eminence would answer the purpose equally well. And surely, however inconclusive and unsatisfactory arguments from analogy may be, I submit that they are not without their force, especially if considered in connexion with other arguments such as I have used above: therefore I take leave to regard Silbury as nothing else than a sepulchral tumulus of colossal dimensions, in short a gigantic barrow, and containing the bones or ashes of some renowned Briton, but whether the tomb of the illustrious founder of Avebury [2] (as Stukeley asserts), or the

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as one of these beacons, where in former times fires were lighted to alarm the neighbourhood on the approach of an enemy:

> 'And flaming beacons cast their beams afar,
> The dreadful signal of invasive war.'

Its elevated situation over the great forest of Selwood, commanding a distant view of the Severn, was well adapted to such a purpose, and might have been so used, but I always had considered its original destination to have been sepulchral, and so, on opening, it proved to be," i., 39.

[1] The famous Tynwald, or Judicial Hill, in the Isle of Man, celebrated as the place whence the laws of the island have been promulgated from an unknown period of antiquity, and where the kings were crowned, is no exception to this, as in the first place its primary object and date are unknown, and again its form and comparatively small size suggest no comparison with our own Silbury; for it is described as a round hill of earth, 300 feet in circumference, cut into terraces, and ascended by steps of earth, like a staircase. ["Train's History of the Isle of Man," "Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered" ii., 20. Mr. Long's "Abury" illustrated, in Wilts Magazine, iv., 340.]

[2] Stukeley records the custom of the country people meeting on the top of Silbury every Palm Sunday, when they make merry with cakes, figs, sugar, and water fetched from the Swallow-head, or spring of the Kennet near the foot of the mound (Abury, p. 44); and Sir R. C. Hoare remarks that the habit of ascending to the summits of hills on Palm Sunday is not confined to Silbury, for it prevails on another conspicuous eminence, in South Wilts, viz. Clea Hill,

monument of some mighty warrior, is not so easy to determine.

Mr. W. Long in his admirable article on Abury (the most comprehensive, lucid, and accurate account which I have ever seen on the subject), records the tradition, which Stukeley too hastily seized, of an iron bit being discovered, supposed to belong to the horse buried with its master:[1] and there is at this day a local tradition that a horse and rider, the size of life, and *of solid gold*, yet remain below; and though this of course bears on its face evidence of the vulgar notion that the precious metals[2] alone must be the object of so much search and expense in opening tumuli, yet it is a curious circumstance that the tradition embodies a fact, that it *was* the custom of barbarians to bury horses with deceased chieftains, as is not only distinctly stated by Herodotus[3] of the ancient Scythians,

near Warminster (Ancient Wilts, ii, 80). To which I may add that the custom still prevails, not only with regard to Silbury, which is to this day thronged every Palm Sunday afternoon by hundreds from Avebury, Kennet, Overton and the adjoining villages, but that the same thing occurs at Martinsall and several other eminences in North Wilts.

[1] Wiltshire Magazine, vol. iv, p. 339. Stukeley's Abury, p. 41. Sir. R. C. Hoare's Ancient Wilts, ii, 81.

[2] Until Matlow or Mattilow Hill, the large and well known tumulus of Cambridgeshire was examined in 1852, under the superintendence of the Hon. R. C. Neville, afterwards Lord Braybrooke, the popular tradition, implicitly believed among the labouring classes thereabouts for many years was, that it contained *a gold coach*. I may also here remark in passing, that though, with such unusual allurements to whet their curiosity, that tumulus had been more than once explored, (shafts having been driven horizontally on the Eastern side, and sunk perpendicularly from the top,) it was not till Lord Braybrooke turned it over regularly from end to end, advancing from the Southern extremity that human bones, and urns, (which he describes as resembling those so frequently taken from the large Wiltshire tumuli) were discovered near the Eastern, Western, Southern, and South-Western extremities. [Archæological Journal, ix., 226.]

[3] Melpomene, cap. 71. Compare with this description of the burial of a Scythian King by Herodotus, the following account of the burial of Harald the Dane. "King Ring searched for the corpse, when he had proclaimed a truce: a great mound was then raised, and the horse which had drawn Harald during the battle was harnessed to the car, and so the Royal corpse was drawn into the mound. There the horse was killed, and the mound carefully closed and preserved, and King Ring remained sole governor over the whole kingdoms of Norway and Sweden." [Anders Pryxeli's Sweden. Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, ii., 252. Archæologia, vol. xxx., art. xxi. Rawlinson's Herodotus, iii., 62.]

by Cæsar[1] of the Gauls, and by Tacitus of the Germanic races: but Mr. Kemble, with his usual accurate research, has collected abundant evidence that the same custom prevailed in different ages among the Tschudi of the Altai[2]; the Tartars of the Crim;[3] the Celtic tribes in Gaul and Britain; the Franks, as evidenced in Childeric's grave; the Saxons, as proved by constant excavation; and the Northmen, as we read in all the Norse Sagas, and find in innumerable Norse graves. It was common also to the Sclavonic tribes of the Russ in the 10th century;[4] to the Lithuanians; Letts; Wands; and the Ugrian population of the Finns.[5] Nor is it a practice in vogue amongst uncivilized nations only in days gone by, for we are told that the people of Assam in India beyond the Ganges are still accustomed to bury horses, elephants, camels and hounds with their Kings; and the Abipones of South America, when a chief or warrior dies, kill his horses on the grave:[6] and Washington Irving mentions the burial of a child, among the American Indians, with whom were buried all her playthings, and a favourite little horse that she might ride it in the land of spirits. So that after all, if Silbury was reared over the ashes of some mighty chieftain, it is most probable that his horse was buried there too.[7]

I come now to the most perplexing part of my subject, the *probable date* of the erection of Silbury; and here, (I fear) we are and for the present must be contented to remain very much in the dark: still we have (I think) certain threads of more or less consist-

[1] Comment., lib. vi., c. 19. "Funera sunt, pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumptuosa; omniaque, quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia."

[2] Ledebour Reise, i., 231. [3] Lindner, p. 92.

[4] See Frahn's edition of Ibn Foylan's Travels, p. 104.

[5] Mac Pherson's Kertch, p. 77.

[6] Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered, ii., 252.

[7] An interesting discovery of horse shoes near the foot of Silbury, apparently Roman, and recorded in the Archæological Journal, (vol. xi., 65), has misled some with the false report of these relics having been disinterred from the interior of the mound: whereas one was found on Beckhampton Down, two miles from Silbury; another at the foot of the hill; and another a short distance to the N.W. of it: their obvious connexion with the locality being only with the Roman road which ran at the base of the hill.

ency to guide us, which lead us back towards the maze of antiquity, and enable us to refer its origin to a very remote period. In the first place I am strongly of opinion that Stukeley[1] and Sir Richard Hoare[2] were correct in their assertion that the Roman road was turned from its usually straight course a little to the South of Silbury, to avoid passing through it; and though Rickman[3] denies that it was so turned, and Mr. W. Long[4] entertains the same opinion, yet I would ask with the late Dean of Hereford[5] that people should stand at the hillock or grave where the present Bath road crosses the Roman road half-a-mile West of Beckhampton, and judge for themselves, whether or no the latter does not deflect to the right to avoid Silbury, and whether, if it had not done so, it would not have cut the hill at one third of its base.[6] I have very carefully examined the ground, and followed the road over and over again at all seasons of the year, but more especially in winter, at the beginning of a thaw, when the snow which is melted from the surrounding fields, clings somewhat longer to the old road, and marks its course most unmistakeably. And I have the strong corroborative testimony of Mr. Pinniger, through whose land at Beckhampton the road runs, and who, living on the spot, has continual opportunities of observation at all seasons, and who will bear me out in my assertion, that the crops of corn ripening somewhat earlier on the track of the Roman road than in the surrounding fields, mark its course just before harvest very clearly. Now at both these seasons we can trace the old road much nearer to Silbury than at any other time of the year, and the testimony of all those who have had their attention called to it agrees in affirming that even East of Beckhampton the road runs straight for Silbury, but afterwards turns Southward to avoid it. In reply to

[1] Abury, p. 43.

[2] Ancient Wilts, ii., 70.

[3] Archæologia, vol. xxviii., p. 401, 402, 409.

[4] Wiltshire Magazine, iv., 340—341.

[5] Salisbury Journal of the Archæol. Institute, p. 81.

[6] Idem, p. 92. The author of the "Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered," also declares that the Roman road diverges South to avoid Silbury Hill, and then continues its direct course, (i., 417).

Mr. Long's argument that a line ruled on the Ordnance Map between Overton Hill and Morgan's Hill would pass to the South of Silbury, and that therefore Stukeley's view, ["that the Roman road in its course from Overton Hill to Runway Hill (or Morgan's Hill) should have passed directly through Silbury Hill, wherefore they curved a little Southward to avoid it"] is incorrect: I would submit, that the ridge of steep downs which the road has to cross between Morgan's Hill and Beckhampton forbad so direct a line as the Romans delighted in where practicable, and that the road is *necessarily* turned considerably to the South by the sharp backbone of down, along which it runs, long before it approaches Beckhampton: but that on descending to the more level plain in which Silbury stands, it makes directly for the very centre of the hill. And again on the East of Silbury, the small fragment of Roman road which remains points straight for the middle of our mound, and I apprehend that a line connecting those *nearest* portions of the Roman road which still exist East and West of the hill, would pass directly through the middle of Silbury. Again, we must remember that the Roman road from Bath to London, passing through Spye Park and Verlucio or Wans, and crossing Morgan's Hill, did not make for the town of Marlborough, but for the lower Cunetio or Mildenhall, considerably to the North of Marlborough: and a straight line ruled on the Ordnance Map from Mildenhall to Verlucio will be found to bisect Silbury: the *general* direct line therefore seems to be kept throughout, though the nature of the ground may cause here and there a divergence. Moreover I apprehend that though the plough has now effaced all traces of the Roman road throughout a great part of its course over our downs, the case was otherwise 150 years since, and that when Stukeley described its course as making directly for Silbury and then curving Southwards to avoid it, and published the sketches which he made on the spot to aid his description, he was making no imaginary drawings or assertions, but only describing what he could see clearly before him; whereas at this date and under present circumstances, we can only conjecture where the road passed, from those fragments of it which we see at some distance on either side

of the hill.[1] Now it is manifest that if this opinion is correct, Silbury must be of anterior date to the formation of the Roman road, and consequently prior to the occupation of this country by the Romans. Moreover, this is not a solitary instance of the respect with which the Romans in Britain treated barrows, (a respect the more marked from their general unwillingness to deviate for any consideration from the invariable straight line,) for the course of the Roman road from Old Sarum to Ad Axium, (opposite Brean Down, the Port on the Severn,) diverges in like manner, as Sir Richard Hoare[2] has shown, and as Mr. Scarth has pointed out in his able paper on "Ancient Sepulchral Tumuli."[3] But, notwithstanding what Mr. Rickman and "Cyclops Christianus" may have said in disparagement of its age, it is probable that Silbury was already of considerable antiquity long before the Roman road was planned. By some it has been held to be the work of the Belgæ, those marauding invaders, who, landing on the Southern coasts, gradually penetrated farther and farther inland: but if the Wansdike was (as is generally allowed) the fourth and last of the great boundary ditches which they formed as they increased their territory and advanced more and more into the heart of the country from the South, and if it defines the most Northern limit which the Belgic kingdom ever attained; it is obvious that they never reached so far as Silbury, which lies two miles or more to the North of Wansdike; and even if they sometimes passed their border, it is not to be supposed they would have selected the enemy's country, as the site of so gigantic a work.[4] Again, the absence of all relics, and the blank results of the tunnel in 1849 have been adduced by some in conclusive proof of the non-sepulchral origin of Silbury: but I think that those who hold the opposite view, and still maintain their belief in the existence of interments therein, may fairly argue from the same grounds in favour of its great antiquity: for

[1] See Stukeley's Maps of the Roman road curving round Silbury in his work on Abury, Tab. viii., p. 15, Tab. xxvii., p. 52.

[2] Ancient Wilts, ii., 39.

[3] Page 6.

[4] Sir R. C. Hoare's Ancient Wilts, ii, 16, 18: et seq: Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, i. 134, 181. Archæological Journal, xvi. 157.

when the only substances of which the arms and domestic implements of the primitive races were formed, were of bone or of flint and stone, we can readily imagine that comparatively few of that sort would be met with, their probable scarcity, and the obvious difficulty of recognizing them being considered; whereas when bronze and iron came into use, particles at least of those metals, from their greater durability and greater likelihood to attract observation on the part of the antiquary, would, in so large an excavation, have in all probability come to light had they existed at the period of the raising of the mound. Therefore, though I by no means attach great weight to the argument, it may, (I think) be fairly stated, and weighed for as much as it is worth, that the absence of even the smallest particles of bronze or iron indicates a period prior to the age of metals. And as the absence of all relics seems to me to bespeak its antiquity, so no less does the absence of all allusion to the hill in old writers point the same way: for had it been thrown up during the age of letters, or had even the tradition of its erection, its date, its founders, or its object come down to the period when the Romans occupied this country, it is inconceivable that no mention of so grand a work would have been made: whereas I can easily imagine, that when no record and no tradition of its intention existed, and the very memory of the race who raised it had passed away, and the Romans found it the same grand but mysterious tumulus, which we see it to be now, they might easily pass it by without mention, having indeed nothing to record regarding it. Moreover, we have seen that the simple earthwork unsupported by stone or brick, was the *most* early method of commemorating their dead, among nations the most uncivilized, and of the greatest antiquity: indeed if it be true that the Cimmerians when expelled from the shores of the Euxine (as Homer relates) proceeded West; were called Celts and Gauls; spread over France and England,[1] and were our British ancestors, as some have conjectured; we know that *their* practice was to heap a vast tumulus of earth over their dead long before the Scythians took possession of their country, a recollection of which custom they must have carried with them when

[1] Antiquities of Kertch, by Dr. Mac Pherson, p. 2.

they migrated westwards B.C. 1500;[1] and may have bequeathed to their descendants here. But it is idle to speculate farther on such uncertain data, with no reliable proofs to guide us, though it would add immensely to its interest to feel assured (what in reality is not unlikely) that Silbury is contemporaneous with the siege of Troy, the wanderings of Ulysses, and the period when Jephtha judged Israel.

I have purposely deferred to this place all mention of other British mounds of large dimensions, because I cannot discover that any of them have been explored internally, and therefore they can throw no light on our subject, but stand in the same category as Silbury, and what applies to one will be applicable in great degree to all, for I entertain the opinion that they were almost all thrown up for sepulchral purposes, to whatever uses they may afterwards have been applied. I cannot however close this paper without giving a brief account of some of the largest with which I am acquainted.

The first to which I call attention is Cruckbarrow Hill, three miles S.E. of Worcester, and in the chapelry of Whittington or Witenton: it forms from its situation a very conspicuous feature in the landscape, but differs from Silbury in not being entirely artificial, as it is evidently raised on a pre-existing natural eminence of red marl, the prevailing soil of the surrounding country. It is of an irregular elliptical form, and only rises at all abruptly on the East and South sides, the first rise from the natural eminence on the North being so gradual, that only a conventional line can be taken in measuring the entire circumference: it is but forty-eight feet in perpendicular height,[2] though it has a circumference

[1] Perhaps the date I have given is scarcely early enough. Bateman says that scholars and chronologists assign the date B.C. 2100 for the passage of the Celts across the Thracian Bosporus; and B.C. 1600 for their immigration to England.

[2] When I read this paper before the Society at Avebury, I erroneously stated that Cruckbarrow exceeded Silbury in dimensions, as I relied on the measurement given in a printed guide book of the locality, and very kindly re-examined by the author at my particular desire, and repeated by him. But the figures given seemed so strangely at variance, that I could not satisfy myself without personal examination: and I subsequently made a pilgrimage to Worcester for the express purpose of measuring this tumulus, when I found the

at the base of 1423 feet. The tradition on the spot is that this tumulus is the burying place of those who fell in a great battle fought in the neighbourhood ages ago: and one old man (John Richards) asserts that many years since bones were dug up there: it is supposed however by the historian of the neighbourhood[1] to have been "erected by Celtic hands as a sacrificial mount of worship to one of their deities, and that it was used by the Saxons as a place of assembly for judicial and legislative purposes at a later period," and he grounds his opinion, partly on the large space on the summit, capable of accommodating a vast assembly, and partly on the "name of the adjacent village of Witenton, which may imply that the Witen or Witenagemot of the Saxons had here their place of meeting." I cannot however coincide with this opinion, at least as regards the *primary* object of the hill, though it may have served both these purposes in the course of ages. Another large tumulus existed not long since in the same county, but is now unfortunately destroyed, called "Oswald's Lowe" or "Mount," from which the laws of Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, are said[2] to have been promulgated; and the name still exists in the hundred of "Oswaldslow." This mound lay between Norton and Stowton in Kemsey Parish, and its basis is declared by Aubrey to be as large as Bloomsbury Square. And there is yet another at Wick, near Pershore, described as "of vast size," and called Pridsur-Hill.

Dorsetshire also boasts a mound of large proportions called "Shipton Barrow," lying between Dorchester and Bridport: it is situated on an eminence, and is supposed to derive its name from its form, for from a distance it very much resembles a large boat or the hull of a ship turned keel upwards: the dimensions given by Hutchins are,[3] length 749 feet, breadth at the top 161 feet, and slope of side 147 feet. The perpendicular height, and the angle of elevation are not given: but though Hutchins concludes his

perpendicular height to be 48 instead of 150 feet, the circumference of the base 1423 instead of 1680 feet, and the angle of elevation 20° instead of 45°.—The diameter of the top measures 213 by 68 feet.

[1] "Pictures of Nature round the Malvern Hills," by Edwin Lees, Esq.

[2] History of Worcestershire, by Dr. Nash.

[3] Hutchins's History of Dorset. See also "Barrow digger," p. 49.

notice of it by remarking that "it is 250 feet longer than Silbury barrow in Wiltshire," I am disposed to regard it as of less actual bulk, its oblong form and very inferior elevation being considered. There is also another barrow of considerable size in the same County, near Studland in the Isle of Purbeck, called "Agglestone Barrow;" on the top of which stands an enormous stone. The dimensions of this mound, as given by Hutchins, are, perpendicular height 90 feet: slope of side 300 feet: and the area it covers half an acre and 14 perch.

And now I come back to Wiltshire, and mention the mound at Marlborough, alike mysterious in its origin, its purpose, and its date, though I cannot agree with the present Bishop of Calcutta in his statement that it was at any period of equal size with Silbury, mutilated and changed by its successive occupants though it undoubtedly has been.[1] For though in Norman days it was used as a fortress, and in later times has been turned to account as a fitting site for the spiral walks and formal pleasure grounds wherein our ancestors two centuries ago delighted, yet we must not forget that it was thrown up by none of these, but bears as venerable an appearance, and as plain marks of Celtic origin as Silbury itself: and I doubt not that if thoroughly examined it would be found to contain the ashes of some man of renown in an age of which few traces now remain: for whether or no the British Merlin was buried here, and whether or no "Merlin's Barrow" gave a name to the town, (as has been asserted,[2]

> "Merlini tumulus tibi Merlebrigia, nomen
> Fecit, testis erit Anglica lingua mihi;")

certain it is, that Merleberg was the original mode of spelling Marlborough (in Doomsday Book for instance, and in King John's

[1] "Antiquities of Marlborough College," by Dr. G. E. Cotton, p. 9. Rickman says "The area covered by this mount is about an acre and a quarter." [Archæologia, vol. xxviii, p. 414.] Sir R. C. Hoare in describing it says, "It is inferior in proportions only to Silbury Hill:" (North Wilts, page 15). He gives its dimensions as 1000 feet in circumference of base, and 110 feet for diameter of top.

[2] Gough's Camden. Antiquities of Marlborough College, p. 7. Waylen's History of Marlborough, p. 19.

early charters), the latter syllable of which, the modern German for a mountain, clearly points to the tumulus hard by: moreover it has given to this day a crest to the Borough, to wit, "On a wreath a *mount* vert, culminated by a tower triple-towered, argent."

In addition to these I may enumerate the following large tumuli;[1] in Hertfordshire one near Bishops Stortford; in Bedfordshire one near Leighton Buzzard; in Berkshire two near Hampstead Marshall; in the North Riding of Yorkshire there are several, two of which are of considerable dimensions, the largest of which is called "Rosebury Topping," near Newton, between Stokesley and Guisborough: it is described as "flat on the top, and as large though not so high as Silbury." In the County of Gloucester there is one in the Parish of Bromsberrow, called the "Conygre Hill" which (Mr. Lees informs me) is of about the same circumference, but of lower elevation than Silbury. In Surrey there are many barrows of large size: one on Collingley Ridge in the Parish of Frimley is described as "larger than any in Wilts except Silbury;" another at Horshill on the Heath; another West of Oxenford; and another to the West of the town of Chobham. In Essex, there is one near St. Giles's Church, in the town of Colchester; in Kent one near Ashford; in the County of Hants one near Blackwarren; and in Suffolk six miles to the East of Ipswich, a large tumulus surrounded by six smaller ones.

There are also barrows of large size, of whose strength and solidity advantage has been taken to convert them into suitable sites for castle keeps at Oxford, Thetford, Canterbury and Lewes, the two latter of which have been *proved* by recent excavations to contain human bones at their very base.[2]

But the tumulus which most nearly approaches Silbury in size and proportions was raised in modern days over the remains of our Belgic allies who fell at Waterloo. This vast barrow of the 19th century occupies (as is well known) the centre of the field of battle, and though of less actual bulk than our Wiltshire mound, is of no

[1] Most of the larger tumuli mentioned here are taken from a list in an unpublished MS. of Aubrey in the Library of the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Society, at Devizes.

[2] Wright's Celt Roman and Saxon, p. 437.

insignificant dimensions. I have myself taken the measurements in the spring of the present year, with the tape and with the quadrant, so that I can speak with some certainty on the point. The sloping side is 270 feet; the circumference of the bottom 1632 feet; the diameter of the base 544 feet; the diameter of the top 40 feet; the perpendicular height 130 feet; and the angle of elevation $27\frac{1}{2}°$: so that with an altitude and circumference of base nearly identical with those of Silbury, it is only the inferior size of the platform on the top and the consequently lower angle of inclination, which bring its cubical contents below those of our Wiltshire mound. But not to linger over this modern colossus of graves, interesting though it is to compare it with our ancient giant among tumuli; I now bring my somewhat lengthy paper to a close, leaving it to the Members of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society to form their own opinions on the subject: only I would bespeak the respect of all Wiltshiremen for Silbury, which deserves our reverence from its antiquity, our admiration from its size, and our awe from the mystery which envelopes it.

Alfred Charles Smith.

Yatesbury Rectory,
July, 1861.

The Flora of Wiltshire:

COMPRISING THE

Flowering Plants and Ferns indigenous to the County;

By Thomas Bruges Flower, M.R.C.S., F.L.S., &c., &c.

No. VI.

ORDER. CARYOPHYLLACEÆ (JUSS).

So named after Caryophyllus (*the Clove Pink*), which was anciently used as a generic name for many plants of this order. The Clove Pink was so called from its scent resembling that of the Indian spice *(Caryophyllon)* or Clove. Karuophullon being a compound of *karuon*, an almond, and *phullon*, a leaf.

Dianthus, (Linn.) Pink,

Linn. Cl. x. Ord. ii.

Name derived from *Dios* (gen. of *Zeus*), *Jupiter*, and *anthos*, a flower: dedicated, as it were, to Deity itself, to express the high value that was set upon this beautiful genus of plants;

"Like that sweet flower that yields great Jove delight."

1. D. *Armeria*, (Linn.) Deptford Pink. *Engl. Bot. t.* 317. *Reich. Icones*, vi. 249.

Locality. Gravel pits, and borders of fields on a gravelly soil; also in copses for the first year or two after they have been cut. *A. Fl. July, August. Area*, 1. * * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, "Hedge banks about Alderbury," *Major Smith*, and *Mr. Joseph Woods*. "Hedges at Pitton," *Dr. Maton*. "Near Milford," *Mr. James Hussey*. Confined to the Southern portion of Wilts, and *there* rarely distributed. *Limb* of the *petals* rose coloured, speckled with white (not red as mentioned in E. B.); dots, crenate at the margin. Flowers scentless. Every species of Pink is interesting and beautiful, and even rare in the present day.

when extended cultivation leaves so few wild tracts to the botanist. By floriculture its petals have been enlarged and multiplied and its colours infinitely varied, but their beauties cannot be rendered permanent. Nature seems to have allowed her works to bear a temporary improvement only in order to create industrious habits in man her most noble and finished work.

Saponaria, (Linn.) Soapwort.
Linn. Cl. x. Ord. ii.

Name from *sapo* soap, the plant yielding a mucilaginous juice which has been employed in place of that useful article.

1. S. *officinalis*, (Linn.) officinal or Common Soapwort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1060. *Reich Icones*, vi. 245. *Sturm's Deutschland's Flora*, 6. 10.

Locality. Roadsides, and hedge banks, especially near cottages. Rare. *P. Fl. July, August. Area*, * 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

2. *South Middle District*, "About Heytesbury," *Mr. Rowden.*

3. *South-west District*, "Ditch banks at West Harnham," *Major Smith.* "Near Flintford, Corsley," *Miss Griffith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District*, "Chippenham not unfrequent," *Dr. Alexander Prior*, and *Mr. C. E. Broome.* "Biddestone," *Miss Ruck*, "Roadside at Netherstreet," *Miss L. Meredith.* "Derry Hill and Sandy Lane," *Mr. Sole, M.S. Flora.*

5. *North-east District*, Purton, and Lydiard Park wall near the Mansion. "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. Bartlett.*

This plant has much the appearance of being naturalized throughout the county, being generally observed near houses or villages. Stems cylindrical, about eighteen inches high, each terminating in a roundish panicle of handsome blush coloured flowers, which have a sweetish though scarcely agreeable scent. The double variety is not uncommon in gardens. Flowers become double by the multiplication of the parts of the corolline whorl. This arises in general from a metamorphosis of the stamens. It is very common in the Natural orders *Ranunculaceæ*, *Papaveraceæ*, *Magnoliaceæ*, *Malvaceæ* and *Rosaceæ*, whilst it is *rare* in Leguminosæ. The tendency to

produce double flowers is sometimes very strong, thus Kerria japonica in *cultivation* is never seen except with double flowers. Saponaria contains Saponine, which imparts to it saponaceous qualities. The same principle is found in species of *Silene, Lychnis* and *Cucubalus.*

Silene, (Linn.) Catchfly.
Linn. Cl. x. Ord. iii.

Name. Supposed to be from *Sialon,* (Gr.) Saliva, in allusion to the viscid moisture on the stalks of many of the species, by which flies of the smaller kinds are entrapped, hence the English name of the genus Catchfly.

1. S. *anglica,* (Linn.) English Catchfly. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1178.

Locality. On arable land where the soil is light, sandy or gravelly. *A. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Alderbury near Salisbury," *Mr. Joseph Woods,* and *Mr. James Hussey.* "Amesbury," *Dr. Southby.*

2. *South Middle District,* "Sandy cornfields near Market Lavington," *Miss L. Meredith.*

3. *South-west District,* "Cornfields near Corsley," *Miss Griffith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* "Bowden Hill," *Dr. Alexander Prior,* and *Mr. C. E. Broome.* "Cornfields near the Old Horse and Jockey, Kingsdown," *Flora, Bath.*

One of the most inconspicuous of its genus, it will possibly prove to be more frequent *throughout* Wilts than the above area of distribution indicates.

2. S. *nutans,* (Linn.) Nottingham Catchfly. *Engl. Bot. t.* 460. Has been observed by Miss L. Meredith at Scratchbury Hill near Warminster, where it appears to have been introduced. But nowhere is it seen in greater perfection by the collecting botanist than upon the brow of the once rude, now tufted and glowing heights of Encombe, in the adjoining county, (Dorset). When night has hidden the glories of the garden it expands its narrow petals, and fills the whole air and every breeze with most delicious fragrance.

3. S. *inflata* (Sm.) inflated Catchfly, Bladder Campion. *Engl. Bot. t.* 164.

Locality. Gravel pits, borders of fields, and road sides. Common. *P. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *General in all the Districts.*

A very frequent plant in cornfields and pastures, especially in chalky and calcareous soils, Stem and leaves very glaucous, the latter somewhat fleshy. Calyx beautifully veined with purple and green. A variety having the stem and leaves rough, with hairs and calyx downy, is sometimes met with.

S. *noctiflora,* (Linn.) Night flowering Catchfly, though not as yet recorded for *Wilts,* should be searched for in the *Southern Districts.* So closely resembling starved plants of *Lychnis* vespertina (S.) that it is probably overlooked.

Lychnis, (Linn.) Campion Lychnis.

Linn. Cl. x. Ord. iv.

Name. From the Greek *(luchnos)* a lamp, in allusion to the brilliancy of some of the species, e.g. "L. *Chalcedonica,*" the scarlet Lychnis of gardens.

1. L. *Flos cuculi,* (Linn.) Meadow Lychnis, or Ragged Robin. *Engl. Bot. t.* 573. *Reich. Icones,* 5129.

Locality. In wet places, in meadows, and in woods, frequent throughout the county. *P. Fl. May, June. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

This plant is called Ragged Robin from the finely cut or ragged appearance of its petals, and Cuckoo-flower, in common with several other plants that blossom about the time this welcome and merry messenger of spring begins its monotonous song.

"The agreement between the blowing of flowers, and the periodical return of birds of passage" says Mr. Curtis in his excellent "*Flora Londinensis*" "has been attended to from the earliest ages. Before the return of the seasons was exactly ascertained by Astronomy, these observations were of great consequence in pointing out stated times for the purposes of agriculture, and still in many a cottage, the birds of passage and their corresponding flowers assist in regulating the short and simple Annals of the Poor."

For this reason no doubt we have several other plants that in different places go by the name of Cuckoo-flower. Gerarde says *Cardamine pratensis*, is the true Cuckoo-flower. Shakspeare's Cuckoo-buds are of "yellow hue," and are probably *Ranunculus* or Crow-foot. By some the Orchis, Arum, and Oxalis, or Wood-sorrel are all called after the Cuckoo. Some interesting observations respecting the coincidence of the flowering of particular plants, and the arrival of certain birds of passage may be seen in Stillingfleet's "Tracts relating to Natural History," &c. Fourth Edition, p. 148, and "Loudon's Mag. of Natural History," vol. iii. p. 17.

2. L. *diurna*, (Sibth.) Day-flowering, Red Campion. The English Campion so called from *Campus*, (Lat.) or the French *Champ*. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1579. *Reich. Icones*, vi. 304. *St.* 238. L. *dioica. a.* (Linn.)

Locality. Damp hedge banks, and in moist or shaded situations. Common. B. (?) *Fl. June, September. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. Generally distributed throughout the county, less frequent in the *Southern* or chalky Districts, preferring rather moist situations particularly where the subsoil is clay or gravel. Linnæus confounded this with the following species under his "L. *dioica*," but though mutually deficient in the development of their floral organs, the same plant rarely perfecting both stamens and pistils, such is the difference of their habit that independent of colour they would scarcely be associated by the most indifferent observer.

3. L. *vespertina*, (Sibth.) Evening flowering, White Campion. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1580. *Reich. Icones*, vi. 304. *St.* 239. L. *dioica*, *β* (Linn.)

Locality. Hedge banks, cultivated ground, borders of fields and amongst corn. Very frequent. B. (?) *Fl. June, September. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *General in all the Districts.* A more robust plant than the preceding species, with larger white or pale blush coloured flowers, diffusing towards evening and at the approach of rain an agreeable fragrance, which is never perceptible in those of L. *diurna*, (Sibth.) Well distinguished by the leaves being of a denser substance and more lanceolate than ovate, by its conical not globular capsule, with erect not reflexed teeth. It seems to prefer

an open habitat, abounding in fields and exposed pastures, *especially* in a chalky soil, where the Red Campion rarely intrudes. Both L. *diurna* (Sibth.), and *vespertina* (Sibth.), vary in colour from red to white and from white to red.

4. L. *Githago*, (Lam.) Corn Cockle, Corn Campion, Wild Nigella, Git vel Gith, n. indecl. a small seed. (Ainsworth.) The Gith of the Romans was *Nigella sativa*, the seeds of which plant they used as the moderns do pepper. *Ago* in botany, when it terminates a word, usually denotes resemblance, thus, *Gith—ago*, *Medic—ago*. *Agrostemma* (Linn.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 741. *St.* 5. 6.

Locality. In cornfields on a dry soil. *A. Fl. June, August. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

A frequent plant in cornfields throughout Wiltshire, but probably introduced. This is a very troublesome weed and should be eradicated by hand before it comes into flower. The seeds are large and heavy, and their black husks when mixed with wheat, breaking so fine as to pass the bolters, renders the flour specky. They are therefore obnoxious to the millers and depreciate the sample of corn.

Sagina, (Linn.) Pearlworth.

Linn. Cl. iv. Ord. iii.

Name. From *Sagina*, nutriment, it being supposed fattening to cattle, though perhaps originally designating some nutritious sort of grain.

1. S. *pro-cumbens*, (Linn.) procumbent Pearlwort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 880. *Reich. Icones*, v. 201.

Locality. On sandy ground, walks, grass plots and beds of of neglected gardens, as well as on shady walls and gravelly banks everywhere. *P. Fl. May, September. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

A common weed in all parts of the county. It sometimes occurs with five sepals, five petals and five stamens, often without petals with a five sepaled calyx, ten stamens and five pistils, thus approaching to *Spergula*. The calyx and other parts of the flower appear in this case to increase at the expense of the corolla, the latter however is often wanting without an augmentation of the other parts. Few plants assume a greater variety of appearance

than this, but in all situations the singular appearance of the seed vessels placed on the calyx like a cup on a saucer, will easily distinguish it. It is a native everywhere throughout Europe, on the north-west coast of America and on the banks of the Columbia.

2. S. *apetala*, (Linn.) apetalous, or small flowered Pearlwort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 881. *Reich Icones* v. 200.

Locality. On wall tops, and waste barren ground, frequent. *A. Fl. May, June. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

In all the Districts with S. procumbens (Linn.) from which it is well distinguished by its ascending not procumbent stem, paler colour, more slender habit, and by its much longer points to the leaves, which are fringed with a few stiff hairs towards the base. For further information on the British species and varieties of this genus, see *Gibson in Phytologist No.* 9, *April*, 1842, *P.* 177.

3. S. *nodosa*, (Linn.) Knotted Spurrey. Sand Chickweed. *Engl. Bot. t.* 694. *Spergula* (Smith). *Curt. Fl. Lond.* ii. *fasc.* 4, *t.* 34.

Locality. In moist sandy, gravelly and turfy pastures, but not common. *P. Fl. July, August. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, "Moist places about Grimsted, *Major Smith, and Mr. James Hussey.* "Alderbury," *Dr. Maton.* "Clarendon," *Mr. T. W. Gissing*,

2. *South Middle District*, "Westbury," *Mrs. Overbury.*

3. *South-west District*, "West Harnham," *Mr. James Hussey.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District*, "Wet sandy places about Bromham," *Miss L. Meredith.*

5. *North-east District*, Banks of canal between Swindon and Purton. Further localities for this species would be desirable, it can scarcely be so rare *in Wilts*, as the above distribution indicates.

Alsine (Wahl.) Alsine.

Linn. Cl. x. Ord. iii.

Name. From Alsos, (Gr.) a grove.

1. A. *tenuifolia*, (Wahl.) Fine leaved Sandwort. *Arenaria*, (Smith). *Engl. Bot. t.* 219. *Reich Icones*, 4916. *Sabulina* (R.)

Locality. In dry sandy, and chalky places, rare in the county. *A. Fl. May, June. Area,* * * 3. 4. *

South Division.

3. *South-west District,* "Road side and hill North of Wilton," *Rev E. Simms.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Sandy corn-fields between Kingsdown and South Wraxhall.

This is rather a local than a common plant, stems 4 to 6 inches high, glabrous throughout, remarkably slender, especially the *peduncles.*

MOEHRINGIA, (LINN.) MOEHRINGIA.

Linn. Cl. x. Ord. iii.

Name. So called after Moehringia a celebrated botanist.

1. M. *trinervis,* (Clairv.), three-nerved or Plantain leaved Moehringia. *Arenaria,* (Smith). *Engl. Bot. t.* 1483. *Reich. Icones, t.* 216.

Locality. In damp woods, groves, and on moist or shady hedge-banks, not uncommon. *A. Fl. May June. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *In all the Districts.* Habit of *Stellaria media,* (Wither), and distinguished from *Arenaria* and *Alsine,* by the appendages to the hilum of its seeds.

ARENARIA, (LINN.) SANDWORT.

Linn. Cl. x. Ord. iii.

Name. From *arena,* (Lat.) sand, its habitation.

1. A. *serpyllifolia* (Linn.) Thyme—*(serpyllum)* leaved Sandwort, but the resemblance is not very apparent. *Engl. Bot. t.* 293. *Reich. Icones, t.* 216.

Locality. Dry places, walls, and gravelly ground. *A. Fl.* June, August. *Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Common in all the Districts.* A variety with stems much more slender, flowers and fruit of half the size I have occasionally met with, it may be the *β tenuior* (Koch.)[1]

[1] As compared with genuine serpyllifolia this plant is more graceful in its habit of growth, the stems are more slender and more diffuse, the panicles narrower and more elongated not level with the top, but mostly lengthened out into an irregular raceme. The hairs upon the leaves and calyces, longer, more

Stellaria, (Linn.) Stitchwort.
Linn. Cl. x. Ord. iii.

Name. From *stella* (Lat.) a star form of flower.

1. S. *media*, (Withering) Common Chickweed, intermediate Stitchwort. Called by Linnæus, Bauhin, and others, *Alsine media* as intermediate in size, between *Alsine major (Cerastium aquaticum)* and *minor (Arenaria serpyllifolia)* the name no longer applicable now its genus is changed, has been unwisely retained by later authors. *Engl. Bot. t.* 537. *Reich. Icones.* 222.

Locality. In rich waste, and cultivated ground, abundant. *A. Fl.* March, November. *Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

In all the Districts. This very common plant which grows almost in all situations, from damp and almost boggy meads, to the driest gravel walks in gardens, is consequently subject to great variations in its appearance. Those who have only seen it in its usual state as garden *Chickweed* would hardly know it again in meads, where it sometimes exceeds half a yard in height, and has leaves near two inches long and more than one inch broad, resembling in its habit the *Stellaria nemorum* or the *Cerastium aquaticum*, distinguishable however from the *latter* by the number of pistils, and from the former by the woolly or hairy ridge extending along the stem. This species is a good pot herb, and small birds are very fond of the seeds.

2. S. *Holostea*, (Linn.) Holostea or Greater Stitchwort. Holosteon is the Greek name of some plant derived from *(holos)* entire, and *(osteon)* bone, but why applied to our plant except by antiphrasis, is not so clear. *Engl. Bot. t.* 511. *Reich. Icones, t.* 223.

Locality. Woods, hedges, and bushy places, very common. *P. Fl.* April, June. *Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Throughout all the Districts, where its brilliant white starry blossoms render it very conspicuous in the spring. Calyx sometimes proliferous, as observed by H. F. Talbot, Esq. of Lacock Abbey.

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spreading, and more conspicuous, the sepals sharper, thinner in texture, and more strongly nerved, the capsules smaller in size, less ventricose in shape, and pliant under pressure. It is probably the "*Arenaria leptoclados*," of *Gussone.*

3 S. *glauca*, (Wither) glaucous, or Marsh Stitchwort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 825. *Reich Icones*, 223. S. *palustris*, (Retz.)

Locality. In moist meadows, bogs, and the margins of ditches and ponds, where the soil is peaty or gravelly. Rare. *P. Fl. May, July. Area*, * * * 4. *

North Division.

4. *North-west District*, In a bog between the Horse and Jockey, and South Wraxhall: the only locality at present recorded for this species in Wilts, whence my herbarium has been supplied. Distinguished from S. *Holostea*, (Linn.), by its perfect smoothness, shorter *leaves*, and three ribbed calyx; from S. *graminea*, (Linn.), by its glaucous hue, and larger petals; from both by its erect, more dispersed, often axillary and solitary, much less *panicled flowerstalks*.

It is often overlooked by the young botanist, and may be regarded as a local, rather than a common plant.

S. *graminea*, (Linn.) grass-leaved Lesser Stitchwort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 803. *Reich Icones, f.* 4911.

Locality. In heathy pastures, or bushy places, on a gravelly or sandy soil, frequent. *P. Fl. May, August. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts.*

Smaller than the last, and of a grass green, not glaucous. The weak and brittle, smooth, leafy *stems*, support themselves on the surrounding bushes, and the delicate wide spreading *panicles*, with their little white starry blossoms, seem suspended in the air.

S. *uliginosa*, (Murr.) boggy Stitchwort, delighting in locis *uliginosis:* (in marshy places.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 1074. *Reich. Icones, f.* 3669. *Larbrea aquatica. (St. Hilaire.)*

Locality. In rivulets, ditches, springs, and watery spots. *A. Fl. May, June. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Generally distributed, and not unfrequent in our ditches and rivulets. Plant perfectly smooth, with the habit of S. *media*, (Wither.) Flowers smaller than in any other native species, with the calyx entire at the base and slightly urceolate.

MOENCHIA, (EHRH.) MOENCHIA.
Linn. Cl. iv. Ord. iii.

Named by Ehrhart in honour of Dr. Conrad Moench, Professor

of Botany and Chemistry at Marburgh, and author of Enumeratio plantarum indigenarum Hassiæ.

1. M. *erecta* (Smith) erect, upright, Moenchia. Least Stichwort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 609. *Reich Icones*, v. 227. *Moenchia glauca. Pers. Syn. Pl.* v. i. p. 153.

Locality. In pastures, on a gravelly soil, on heathy ground, and old walls. Very rare in the county. *A. Fl. May, June. Area,* * * * * 5.

North Division.

5. *North-east District,* "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

A small plant very likely to be overlooked, and apparently confined to the above District, but it is probable its distribution will be better ascertained as the plants of the county are more diligently sought after by the collecting botanist.

Malachium, (Fries) Mouse-ear Chickweed.
Linn. Cl. x. Ord. iv.

Named from *malakos* (Gr.) *soft* or *feeble*, from the nature of the plant.

1. M. *aquaticum*, (Fr.) Aquatic or Water Mouse-ear Chickweed. *Cerastium* (Smith). *Engl. Bot. t.* 538. *Reich. Icones*, vi. 237.

Locality. Sides of rivers and ditches, and in wet places, not unfrequent. *P. Fl. July, August. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, "About Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Ditch banks at Bemerton," *Major Smith.* "Bulford," *Dr. Southby.*

2. *South Middle District*, Watery places at Devizes, Trowbridge, and Westbury.

3. *South-west District*, "Bishopstrow," *Miss Griffith.* Longleat and Boyton. "Donhead," *Mr. James Hussey.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District*, Banks of the Avon near Staverton, Bradford, and Melksham. "Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior, and Mr. C. E. Broome.* "Bromham," *Miss Meredith.* Slaughterford and Malmsbury.

5. *North-east District*, Damp hedge banks at Swindon, Purton, Morden, Lydiard, also near Marlborough. Habit that of "*Stellaria nemorum* (Linn.) with which this species is liable to be confounded at first sight, and to which it is closely allied, but the latter plant differs by having fewer *styles*, six equal *valves* to the capsule, the *leaves* only ciliated on the margin, and appearing under the microscope to be very minutely dotted with raised points. The seeds of "*Malachium aquaticum*" are very beautifully marked with close papillæ with stellate bases according to *Dr. Bromfield.*

Cerastium, (Linn.) Mouse-ear Chickweed.
Linn. Cl. x. Ord. iv.

Name. From *(keras)* a horn, the curved capsule of some species resembling the horn of an ox.

1. C. *glomeratum*, (Thuil) Common or broad leaved Mouse-ear. C. *vulgatum* (Smith). *Engl. Bot. t.* 789. *Reich. Icones*, v. 229. C. *viscosum* (Fries).

Locality. In fields, waste ground, as well as on walls and dry banks. Common. *A. Fl. April, September. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

In all the Districts. Variable in habit, but well characterized, as distinct from the following by its pale green hue, more obtuse foliage, and capsules curving upward.

2. C. *triviale*, (Link) Narrow-leaved Mouse-ear C. *viscosum* (Smith). *Engl. Bot. t.* 790. *Reich. Icones*, v. 229. C. *vulgatum* (Fries).

Locality. In meadows, pastures, waste ground, on walls as well as in marshes. Very common. *A. Fl. April, September. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Generally distributed throughout all the Districts. Its procumbent stems, dark green hue, more elongated leaves, with flowers larger than those of the last, in small terminal panicles, the branches of which become much elongated as the fruit advances to maturity, and its deflexed capsules, especially distinguish it.

3. C. *semidecandrum*, (Linn.) Semidecandrous Mouse-ear. This species having but five stamens, while most others of the genus have ten, has been named *semi* (i.e. half) *decandrous* a bad term,

half Latin, half Greek. It should have been *Hemidecandrum. Engl. Bot.* 1630. *Reich. Icones*, v. 228.

Locality. Frequent on walls, and in dry waste places, in a sandy soil, not uncommon on the downs, but less frequent in the chalky Districts. *A. Fl. March, April, May. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

In all the Districts more or less distributed. A smaller plant than C. *triviale* (Link) and flowering earlier, displaying itself, as Sir J. E. Smith well observes, in early spring on every wall, and withering away before the latter begins to put forth its far less conspicuous blossoms. Leaves usually hairy, sometimes glabrous. *Stamens* usually five, often four, occasionally ten. *Fruit* more or less curved, variable in length from a little longer than the calyx. Stems sometimes viscid. This species is always distinguished *by its half membranous bracts.*

4. C. *arvense*, (Linn.) Field Mouse-ear. *Engl. Bot. t.* 93.

Locality. In sandy, gravelly, and chalky places. *P. Fl. April, August. Area*, 1. * 3. * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, "Fields about Salisbury," *Major Smith.* "Near Amesbury," *Dr. Southby*, and *Mr. James Hussey.*

3. *South-west District*, "Wick near Downton," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Warminster," *Mr. Rowden.*

Only as yet observed in *two* of the Southern Districts of Wilts, and *there* not at all common in the localities specified. The large flowers with petals twice the length of the calyx and the powerfully creeping roots, will distinguish this from all the other British species of *Cerastium.*

ORDER. MALVACEÆ. (JUSS.)

Malva, (Linn.) Mallow.

Linn. Cl. xvi. Ord. iii.

Name. An old Latin appellation, cognate with the Greek, *(malache)*, which is derived from (*malasso*), to soften or mollify, in allusion to the mucilaginous soothing properties of some of the genus.

1. M. *moschata*, (Linn.) Musk Mallow. *Engl. Bot. t.* 754. *Reich Icones, v.* 169.

Locality. In woods, copses, along hedges,roadsides, and borders of fields, but rather local. *P. Fl. July, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

In all the districts on a gravelly soil, rare on the clay and chalk. Whole plant clothed more or less with spreading simple not starry hairs, unaccompanied by any short dense woolly pubescence; Calyx clothed with softer hairs than those on the stem, the *exterior* one of three lanceolate or linear lanceolate distinct segments, of which one is commonly inserted below the others at some distance, evidently proving their relation to bracts, of which they occupy the place. This species derives its trivial name from the agreeable musky odour it exhales, which is perceptible chiefly on opening a box in which the plant has been kept, or in dry warm weather, or when made to flower in a room; at other times it is inodorous or nearly so. The present is less mucilaginous than the other British species, and is seldom used in medicine, but the beauty of its blossoms entitle it to a place in the flower garden. It has by some botanists been confounded with the "*Malva Alcea,*" (Linn.) *Vervain Mallow,* but it may be distinguished from that species, by the hairs on the plant being simple, the root leaves kidney-shaped, and the three outer leaves of the calyx being spear-shaped. In "M. *Alcea*" (Linn.), the hairs on the plant are starry, the root leaves angular, and the three outer leaves of the calyx egg-shaped. The white flowered variety of "M. *moschata,*" which is sometimes cultivated in gardens, I have observed in plantations on Salisbury Plain, and in Bradford Wood. Mr. William Bartlett informs me he has likewise noticed it near Great Bedwyn.

2. M. *sylvestris,* (Linn.) Wood or common Mallow. *Engl. Bot. t.* 671. *Reich Icones, v.* 168.

Locality. Woods, roadsides, and waste places. Very common. *P. Fl. June, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *In all the Districts.*

3. M. *rotundifolia,* (Linn.) Round-leaved or Dwarf Mallow. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1092. M. *vulgaris, Fries. Reich Icones, v.* 167.

Locality. Waste places near houses, frequent. *P? Fl. June, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Distributed more or less throughout all the Districts. All the species of this Genus, as well as of the Genera *Althæa* and *Lavatera,*

are mucilaginous and emollient, and are said to be destitute of all unwholesome qualities.

ORDER. TILIACEÆ. (JUSS.)

TILIA, (LINN.) LIME TREE.

Linn. Cl. xiii. Ord. i.

Name. From the Saxon Lind, German Linde, a lime tree; which is probably so named from the extreme softness and lightness of the wood. *linde* being an obsolete or poetic word for *gelind*, soft or yielding. The quotations from Dryden in Johnson's Dictionary, art: "Linden," are much in favour of this derivation.

T. *europæa*, (Linn.) European or Common Lime-tree, Linden-tree, Bast. *Engl. Bot. t.* 610. Loudon's Arboretum, P. 63. "T. *intermedia*," (D. C.)

Locality. Plantations, naturalized in the county. *Tree, Fl. July. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4, 5. Distributed throughout all the Districts, in plantations, parks and pleasure grounds. A common avenue or lawn tree, "its flowers at dewy eve distilling odours."

Of this beautiful genus, more remarkable for the stately growth than the value of its timber, and for the delicate fragrance of its blossoms and ample foliage, we possess no evidence to prove that the present species is truly indigenous in Wiltshire, but has become *naturalized;* and that its introduction must have taken place at a very recent period, for neither Ray or Aubrey make any mention of this tree in their "Notes on the Natural History of the county." The Common Lime or Linden is distributed in woods over nearly the whole of Europe except the extreme North, extending Eastward across Russian Asia to the Altai; it is much planted in Britain, and is probably truly wild in Southern and Western England, and perhaps in Ireland. It is a handsome long-lived tree, attaining sometimes as much as 120 feet in height, but generally not above half that size. The leaves which are broadly heart-shaped or nearly orbicular, vary much in the degree of down on their under surface and on the fruit, in the greater or less prominence of the five filiform ribs of the fruit, etc. The truly indigenous form in Northern Europe is always a small leaved one. The large leaved

variety which we commonly plant "T *grandiflora*," (*Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2720,) is of South European origin, with the leaves still further enlarged by cultivation.

Few persons we believe can look at a lime tree in full and luxuriant foliage, without admiring the living pyramid it presents, or pronouncing it amongst the finest and most striking of our forest-trees, and that its character is such we need only refer to the magnificent specimens at Moor Park, or to others of great magnitude in England mentioned by Mr. Loudon.

The flowers which generally begin to open about the middle of June are in perfection in July, and are remarkable for their delicious scent which perfumes the air to a great distance around; these from the honied sweets they contain, are irresistibly attractive to the honey-bee and other insects, which in thousands flock to its honied stores, for which reason Virgil in his beautiful description of the industrious Corycian, places the lime and the pine in the neighbourhood of his hives. The wood of the lime tree which is yellowish white in colour, is turned to a variety of useful purposes; but the most elegant application is for fine carving, in the practice of which art it is justly preferred to every other.

> "Smooth Linden best obeys
> The carver's chisel: best his curious work
> Displays in nicest touches."

The exquisite productions of Grinling Gibbons executed in this material some two hundred years ago, may be seen in St. Paul's Cathedral, at Windsor Castle, Chatsworth and other places, still looking sharp, delicate and beautiful, as when they came from the artist's chisel. The bark tough and strong, separates readily into layers, and is the material of which the Russian or Bass mats are made. The family of Linnæus are said to have derived the name from a gigantic lime or linden-tree, called in Swedish Linn, standing upon the farm occupied by his ancestors, and possibly the picturesque village of Lindhurst in the New Forest, may also have derived its name from a wood (hurst) of Limes (Linden) now no longer existing, as both "T. *europœa*" and "*parviflora*" are occasionally found in old hedge-rows about Lymington, which is not very distant from the former place.

ORDER. HYPERICACEÆ. (DE CAND.)

Hypericum, (Linn.) St. John's Wort.

Linn. Cl. xviii. Ord. i.

Name. From the Greek word (*hypericon*) of Dioscorides.

1. H. *Androsæmum,* (Linn.) Man's blood Hypericum. Tutsan, or Park leaves. Androsæmum is an old Greek name, compounded of *andros* of a man, and *aima* blood, a name still retained in the Dutch, Man's bloed. It was so called on account of the red juice of the berry. Tutsan is from the French *toute-sain* or all-heal, the plant having been formerly celebrated as a vulnerary. *Curt. Fl. Lond.* i. 164. *Baxter's British Flowering Plants, vol.* i. *t.* 39.

Locality. Woods and shady banks. Rare. *P. Fl. July, August. Area,* 1. * 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Laverstock near Salisbury," *Bot. Guide.* "Hedges about half-a-mile distant from Downton on the road to Salisbury," *Dr. Maton.* "Clarendon Wood," *Dr. H. Smith.*[1] "Banks of the river near Fisherton Church," *Major H. Smith.* "The Earldoms, Whiteparish," *Rev. E. Simms.*

3. *South-west District,* "Warminster," *Mr. Wheeler.* "Spring Head Church Meadow, near Corsley, *Miss Griffith.* "Kilmington," *Miss Selwyn.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Sandridge Hill near Melksham.

5 *North-east District,* "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

I do not quote the figure of this species in English Botany, as that plate possibly represents the "*H. Anglicum*" of *Bert. Flor. Ital.* viii. 310, which is distinguished chiefly by its much branched stem, two winged peduncles, subcordate-ovate, rather acute leaves, few flowered cymes, ovate rather acute and unequal sepals, and by the styles exceeding the stamens. All Wilts specimens named "H *Androsæmum*" should be carefully examined, in order that we may

[1] In 1817 this gentleman commenced a periodical work under the title of "*Flora Sarisburiensis,*" which was intended to describe and illustrate the plants growing in the vicinity of Salisbury: not being sufficiently encouraged in his undertaking, only four numbers of the *Flora* were published.

be informed whether some of them might not belong to "H. *anglicum*," (*Bert.*) Can any botanist of the county inform me if he knows anything about the history of the plant figured in "*English Botany*," and called "H. *Androsæmum ?*"

2. H. *quadrangulum*, (Linn.) square-stemmed, or four-winged Hypericum. *Engl. Bot. t.* 730. *Reich. Icones*, vi. 334. H. *tetrapterum. Fries. Koch.*

Locality. Common in moist thickets, and hedges, and by the sides of ditches and rivulets. *P. Fl. July. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *General in all the Districts throughout the county.*

3. H. *perforatum*, (Linn.) perforated Hypericum true. St. John's Wort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 295. *Reich. Icones*, vi. 343.

Locality. Woods, thickets, hedges, &c. abundant. *P. Fl. July, August. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *In all the Districts common.*

Leaves elliptic-oblong varying much in form, and in the number and size of the pellucid dots. A variety with leaves linear elliptical, with large pellucid punctures, sepals lanceolate, denticulate, rather longer than the ovary, is the *β. angustifolium of Gaud. Fl. Helv.* and is met with in dry chalky places. This plant is variously commemorated by physicians and poets, as "Balm of the Warrior's Wound," in allusion to its healing properties, while its profusion of flowers is thus noticed,

> "*Hypericum*, all bloom, so thick a swarm
> Of flowers, like flies, clothing its slender rods
> That scarce a leaf appears,"

4. H. *dubium* (Leers), imperforated St. John's-wort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 296. "H. *Quadrangulum*," (Fries.)

Locality. Woods, and bushy places, on a sandy soil. Very rare in the county. *P. Fl. July, August. Area*, * * 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

3. *South-east District.* "Cop Heap near Warminster," *Miss Meredith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District*, Conkwell Quarries near Bradford.

5. *North-east District*, "Great Bedwyn," Mr. William Bartlett.

Very local in Wilts, according to the above distribution, or else

mistaken by many of my correspondents for the last species to which it approaches very nearly, both in habit and general features, differing chiefly in the absence of pellucid dots on the leaves, which are *netted with pellucid veins.* Corolla deep yellow, generally bordered, and more or less sprinkled with dark purple glands.

A variety with the sepals oblong-lanceolate, mucronulate, obscurely denticulate, is the "H. *maculatum*, (Crantz.)

5. H. *humifusum*, (Linn.) trailing Hypericum, from *humi* (Lat.), on the ground, and *fusus* spread. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1226. *Reich. Icones*, vi. 342.

Locality. In pastures, and heathy places, on a gravelly soil, not uncommon, yet apparently wanting in the "*South Middle District.*" *P. Fl. July. Area*, 1. * 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, "Salisbury," Mr. James Hussey. "Boggy ground at West Dean," *Dr. Maton.* "Landford," Rev. E. Simms.

3. *South-west District*, "Fonthill Bishop," *Miss Meredith.* "Corsley," *Miss. Griffith.* "Warminster," *Mr. Wheeler.*

South Division.

4. *North-west District*, Cornfields near the Old Horse and Jockey, Kingsdown; and Spye Park.

5. *North-east District*, Braden near Purton. "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

A pretty little procumbent smooth species with the lemon-like scent of "H. *dubium*" and "*perforatum.*" Flowers few, bright yellow, somewhat corymbose, capsules red in ripening, a colour which the leaves assume in decay. Stems slender,

> "Far diffus'd
> And lowly creeping, modest and yet fair
> Like virtue thriving most where little seen."

6. H. *hirsutum*, (Linn.) hairy Hypericum, or St. John's Wort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1156. *Reich. Icones*, vi. 349.

Locality. Hedges, thickets, and borders of woods. Very common. *P. Fl. June, July. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts.*

[H. *montanum*, (Linn.) This species I have not as yet observed in

Wilts, where it can scarcely be absent. Localities more especially when accompanied with specimens are particularly desired.]

7. H. *pulchrum*, (Linn.) handsome Hypericum, or upright St. John's Wort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1227.

Locality. Dry heaths, banks, woods and bushy places, chiefly on clay. *P. Fl. June, July. Area*, 1. * 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, "Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Alderbury," *Major Smith.* "Landford," *Rev. E. Simms.*

3. *South-west District*, "Not unfrequent about Dinton," *Dr. Maton.* "Corsley," *Miss Griffith.* "Westbury," *Mrs. Overbury.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District*, "Spye Park, and in the woods beyond Spye Park," *Miss Meredith, and Dr. Alexander Prior.* Not unfrequent in Bowood.

5. *North-east District*, "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

One of the most elegant of our indigenous plants with stems from one to two feet high, slender, erect, rigid and branched. Flowers beautiful, in loose *panicles*, yellow, tipped, before expansion, with red, anthers crimson.

8. H. *elodes*, (Linn.) Marsh St. John's Wort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 109 *Elodes palustris. Reich. Icones*, vi. 342.

Locality. Spongy bogs, rare. *P. Fl. July, August. Area*, 1 * * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, "Bogs on Alderbury Common," *Major Smith, and Mr. James Hussey.* "Landford Common," *Rev. E. Simms.*

Very rare in Wilts, and at present confined to the above District.

The Littlecote Legend.

(No. 4.)

By C. E. Long, Esq.

To the Editor of the Wilts Magazine.

Sir,

I have my doubts whether the pages of our Magazine are the proper arena for controversy, and whether we should deviate from our ordinary practice, and address you, personally, as the peg on which to hang our literary squabbles. Nevertheless as the gauntlet is thus thrown down, and as I am challenged to the conflict, and by no ordinary combatant, I cheerfully take it up, and enter the lists at his bidding, although he has the advantage of coming to the encounter with his visor down.

"The Littlecote Legend,"—so our friend heads his communication,[1] and I feel obliged to him for the selection of the word. Our dictionaries describe a "Legend" as being "an incredible unauthentic narrative." It is not for me to dispute the correctness of this definition, nor its special application, as made by the critic, to this Littlecote story. But let that pass. I will, at once, endeavour to dissect the dissertation of our "Credulous Archæologist," taking his objections, as nearly as may be, in the order in which they stand.

He says, first, that I "committed myself to a strong opinion [Vol. IV. p. 222] of the mythical character of the story." I now repeat that *quoad* Darell and Littlecote, the murder of the infant by him, and at his house, the discovery of the crime and of his identity by the midwife, his trial at Salisbury and acquittal, together with all the garnishment thereof, I look upon this tale in the light of mere village gossip gathered up into a marvellous fire-side story,

"To make the critic smile, the vulgar stare."

Suppositions based on no solid foundation were magnified into

[1] Wilts Archæol. Mag. vol. vii. p. 45.

facts. Scandal with superstition, subsequently, as her handmaid contributed a joint composition; and a tale which, if true, palpably points at some other place, and at some other party, is required to be carefully treasured up as an historical truth in its original traditionary form in order that credulity may be comforted by not having her faith shaken by facts and evidence in opposition to fictions and hearsay. Your correspondent is of opinion that the discovery of that very curious document, Mother Barnes's narrative on which, together with her previous babblings no doubt, the tradition is obviously founded, strengthens the case against Darell, indeed, as he triumphantly affirms, "affords the most stricking and unexpected testimony to the substantial truth of the story." Of the story—yes—but not as applied to Darell and Littlecote. A tradition must, of *course* have some foundation. In this case the foundation of *a* murder *somewhere*, is undoubtedly established, if we give credit to the old woman's dying declaration, but so far from her fixing the facts, as she recounts them, on Darell and at Littlecote, the very reverse is the case. She never makes the remotest allusion to him, her near neighbour, nor to Littlecote, the largest mansion in her own immediate neighbourhood. She arrived at the house, wherever it was, by day-break, and she staid there during the whole of that day, and we are called upon to suppose that, as to Donnington Park, she did not know her right hand from her left, and that as to the broad river which she crossed, with its "greate and longe bridge," she mistook the Kennet at Hungerford, a place which she must have known as well as she knew her own village of Shefford and the little Lambourn stream which flows through it, for "the Thames." But it is subsequently suggested that she may have been taken by Newbury, and so, passing Donnington, crossed the Kennet. It so happens that the Kennet is by no means broad at Newbury, and that Donnington would still have been on her left, and not, as she says it was, on her "righte hande." But the various embellishments of this story, as we are now informed, the counting the steps, the bed curtain, the recognition of the "tall slender gentleman in black velvet," &c., &c., all these are to be cast aside as the "leather and prunella" of the case. "What legendary tale,"

exclaims our friend, "filtered through the traditions of centuries ever failed to acquire supplementary and varying embellishments?" Very true, but then why filter away the fiction, hitherto received as a fact on Aubrey's authority, that Mrs. Barnes recognized the "gentleman in black velvet" to be Darell, and still stick stoutly to the assertion that Darell was the criminal because some person or persons whispered an insinuation which Mistress Barnes did not? Why again, may I ask, with this fondness for the application of the filter, and this contemptuous carting away of what our friend seems now to admit to be the rubbish of the edifice, why was this filtering process not thought of when the self-same hand penned, in its enlivening manner, the following passage in the Quarterly Review?[1]

"The long rambling galleries of the neighbouring Littlecote Hall" writes our County Chronicler, "still present a fit scene for the traditionary tale of Wild Darell's deed of darkness, which, in spite of the doubts raised by sceptical archæologists" (meaning, amongst others, more particularly, your humble servant) "will find believers to the end of time on the faith of Walter Scott's 'Rokeby' note. Besides, the bed-curtain still shows the fatal patch; the grate is to be seen in the bed-room; the stone stile still exists on which the hero of the tale broke his neck after it had by luck or favour escaped the gallows. These," (says our "Credulous Archæologist," waxing warmer in his credulity) "are material proofs such as no lover of the marvellous will discredit—in spite of Lord Campbell." Now this is well, and prettily, and picturesquely worked up to the fever heat of faith, but where was the "filter" then? and where are the "material proofs" now?! Why Lord Campbell is dragged into court as a sceptic I cannot distinctly see. As far as I read his biography of Popham he seems simply to take upon trust this Littlecote story as regards Darell, while he, not unnaturally rejects that portion of it which, on what he rightly calls "such unsatisfactory testimony," casts a calumny upon his brother Judge. Our faith then, according to the Reviewer, is first and foremost to hang on Sir Walter Scott, who without, I suspect, having himself any faith at all, but merely, as all his works show, "loving the

[1] Q. R. vol. ciii. p. 125.

marvellous," relied for his facts, about which he was by no means scrupulous, on the loose but amusing fragments of village chit-chat furnished to him by Lord Webb Seymour. Secondly we have to base our belief, on the "material proofs" so triumphantly paraded by the Reviewer, but only to be filtered away on a future and more fitting occasion by the "Credulous Archæologist." Our friend complains that the discovery of this new evidence, viz., the old woman's narrative, does not remove my incredulity "but only shifts it to the *locale* and *personnel*." Exactly so—*that* is the very point in question. I don't ask whether the old woman was doting or dreaming. I ask how her story, *as she tells it*, affects Darell and Littlecote? That some of the parties with whom Darell was at variance, if not at enmity, (and his very creditable conduct in the case of the Brind murderers shows that there were such parties), caught at the whisperings of the old woman—improved upon them by the "kind mendacity of hints"—nay even founded a charge, and so got her tale taken down, thereby upsetting their own theory, I readily admit. That they utterly failed in proving their case is manifest. The remaining years, eleven in number, of Darell's life sufficiently establish this. Why, Sir, there is not evidence enough to induce twelve jurors, even with a bias, to hang a ticket-of-leave man hedged in at the dock by the most circumstantial suspicions as to character and conduct. But now for another straw which our drowning counsel catches at. "If" (he goes on to say), "we believe that such a crime was actually committed, surely it is too late in the day now to look out for some other possible locality or perpetrator." "Too late in the day!" Too *late* to try and get at the truth! Is our credulous friend so reduced in argument as to be driven to take up such a position as this!—prematurely and desperately prepared to "die in the last ditch" as the "great Deliverer" said. Is he entitled to plead that we cannot look into that question now—that it is a received fact—that people always believed it—and that it must be so—and to tell us that we are "too late?!" Now, Sir, I protest against this statute of limitations. Is Tradition to hold her ground when History is compelled to give way? Was it "too late" to tear off the

sentimental and saintly mask that had hitherto hidden the forbidding features of Mary of Scotland? Was it "too late" to look into the pathetic story of Amy Robsart, and to prove that Leicester had no hand in the ingenious staircase contrivance? Is it, in fine, ever "too late to mend" either an historical error or a gossiping tradition? Your correspondent next proceeds in the rather tortuous path of insinuation. Darell, he thinks, was not unlikely to have committed this child-murder because he was, as I styled him, "a scape-grace and a spendthrift." I protest I do not see the connection between such venial transgressions and the operation of burning babies—especially when the operator was not in a position to find it necessary to resort to such strong measures. Again he thinks it probable, inasmuch as Darell was "charged with another and earlier murder." In common candour our friend should have added, "as an accomplice, but from which he was wholly exculpated." Thirdly, that he carried on an intrigue with the wife of Sir Walter Hungerford who "may or may not have been the mother of the murdered infant," forgetting that single gentlemen whom married ladies, having their husbands within hail, select as their associates in crime can have no motive for such atrocities. Lady Hungerford was divorced and had retired to Louvain in 1569 where she was living when Mother Barnes died nine years afterwards.

Next in order comes Mr. Brydges's letter respecting the trumped-up tale of the traducers, and which led, as it appears, to the conscience-stricken deposition of Mrs. Barnes, but which, we must ever bear in mind, *she,* in no way connects with Darell and Littlecote, but the reverse. How fared their forgery? We find that during the eleven succeeding years of Darell's life he continued to exercise his duties at Littlecote as a Magistrate, that he was much in favor, and in correspondence, and intimacy with persons high in rank and in position, and that Walsingham was thus writing to him in the year of his (Darell's) decease, "I do assure you the pity I have of your oppression moveth me to doe what I may, &c." All these letters and papers are to be found at the Rolls Office, the Brind murder papers bundled up together with old Mother Barnes's narrative, and the whole set, no doubt, originally kept

together in one chest. One thing, and only one, I give up. I mean the allusion to the "miscarriage." I misconstrued the phrase. The real meaning was, as our friend intimates, the miscarriage, by death, of the mother, not that of the infant.

We now come to Aubrey's statement as regards Judge Popham. It is clear that our friend while, as he says, "not implicitly believing," is much disposed to believe the "probability of this part of the narrative;" and to enforce its truth he drags first Lord Chancellor Bromley into Court as the bribee in *posse*, and then, two years afterwards, Mr. Solicitor General Popham in the same capacity in *esse*. With this faith in Aubrey so perseveringly put forward, why does he overlook the fact (and there is no "filter through the traditions of centuries" in this case) that his witness distinctly tells us that Popham, as "Judge," tried the case, and "gave sentence according to law," while "some-how" (to use his expression) he got the prisoner off in his capacity of "Solicitor General?" "Some matters" our friend is of opinion, "lend some countenance to the statement so positively made by Aubrey," and then he quotes Darell's offer in 1583 to sell his property, being obviously much involved in debt, to Lord Chancellor Bromley. The train of reasoning may thus be tracked—very like the wounded snake—dragging "its slow length along." Lady Hungerford who "may or may not be" the "gentlewoman in travayle" was divorced in 1569. Mistress Barnes, no doubt after many mysterious mutterings, died with her story on her lips in 1578. Darell, therefore, endeavoured, as our friend thinks, to bribe Lord Chancellor Bromley to help him out of the scrape of her supposed accusation by an offer of his lands in 1583. The Lord Chancellor declined the tempting bait, but in 1585 (the date is wrong it should be 1587) an indictment, which our all-believing friend thinks it "possible had some relation to the child murder," was preferred against Darell at the Marlborough Sessions, at which time Popham being "Solicitor General" (a slight error again—he was Attorney General) may "some-how" have got him off. So that we are required to believe that this most grave and frightful charge of child-burning remained suspended, first for five years,

(that is, between the old midwife's declaration and death, and the sop thrown out to Bromley); then again for four years more, when Popham came finally to the rescue, had a retaining fee in the reversion of Littlecote, hurried down, though at some cost of dignity, to the Marlborough Sessions, and saved the life of his friend as counsel, though on this point at variance with the account given by Aubrey, who calls him a "Judge;" and so the curtain fell for a while on this dreary and doleful drama. They must indeed be "lovers of the marvellous" who can swallow all these ingredients and yet remain among the faithful.

In conclusion, and wearisome though the recapitulation may be, I must be permitted to sum up this interminable case by plucking the plumage off the story in detail, and then leaving the old woman's narrative and its *applicability to Darell and to Littlecote* to be decided by your readers *according to the evidence.* First then of John Aubrey, the original conservator of the tradition, to whom your "credulous" correspondent lends so willing an ear.

1. He (Aubrey) speaks of Darell's "lady's waiting woman." Darell had no "lady," consequently there was no "lady's waiting woman."

2. "The old woman," he says, "went to a Justice of Peace—search was made—the very chamber found—the Knight was brought to his trial," and, to be short, "this Judge had this noble house &c., for a bribe to save his (Darell's,) life." Now these are purely imaginary details, though founded no doubt on the old woman's mutterings about a murder somewhere at some time or other. She did not go to a Justice of the Peace, for the reason that she was ill and dying and in bed: no search could have been made to which she was a party, and no chamber found, for a similar reason; not the slightest allusion to any trial of such a nature can be met with, and, if met with, Popham, who was not a Judge until after Darell's death eleven years subsequent, could never have presided. The enquiry, if there ever was an enquiry consequent upon Mrs. Barnes's deposition, was scattered to the winds, and although Darell was engaged in virulent altercations, first with Lord Pembroke in 1582, who was so exasperated against him that he declared

he would "not only blast him but baffle him like a knave;" and next with the Wroughton family in 1588, when Walsingham was so ready to serve him: not a single syllable of insinuation do we find thrown out on such tempting occasions to lead us to suppose that Darell lay even under the remotest suspicion of such a crime.

Camden too, the enquiring Camden, who was 27 years of age when Mrs. Barnes made her deposition, and who subsequently wrote of the matters appertaining to the County; who speaks in glowing terms of Popham, and mentions the Darells, as previously connected with Littlecote, takes no notice whatever of this tale, fresh, as it must have been, in the memory of men then living. If Camden heard it, and in pursuing his researches he can hardly not have heard it, he evidently treated it as I now venture to treat it, as the got-up figment of a few persons desirous of damaging the reputation of an adversary.

Earlier in his letter (p. 46) our friend says that "every version of the story" fixes the criminality on Darell, and the locality at Littlecote; but all versions trace their origin to Aubrey, and of what real value is his evidence, as now exhibited, with its grain of truth in its bushel of inaccuracies? Secondly, the traditional vagaries—the bed-curtain—the steps—the neck-breaking stile, &c., &c., all these adjuncts so hastily adopted by our Quarterly Essayist, but nevertheless so summarily discarded by our "Credulous Archæogist," appear, by a common consent, to be swept away, and nothing is now left of this analysis, as a *residuum*, but Old Mistress Barnes's narrative, and the insinuations of some parties, names unknown, that it related to Darell and to Littlecote. Our friend when writing as the annalist of his County, tells us that the story "will find believers to the end of time on the faith of Walter Scott's 'Rokeby' note." On the faith of a note in a poem all fiction! It may be so, for great is the gullibility of mankind, and many are the "lovers of the marvellous:" witness the follies of our own day, the Bedlamite believers in spirit-rappings, and the conviction that an illiterate scullery-maid can tell us, in her pretended trances, what our friends, in another hemisphere, are about. The Historian of the "United Netherlands," in speaking of the

fictitious tale of Amy Robsart, has the same misgivings of mankind. "Nevertheless" he says "the calumny has endured for three centuries, and is like to survive as many more." My only object has been the truth, and when I first began my researches my anxious desire was (for I then gave a sort of credit to the story) to discover the record of the trial at Salisbury; but time wore on, no trial could be found, other documents came to light, and *then* I formed the opinion that the whole thing was based on gossip. Had the old woman's declaration thrown a gleam of light upon Darell and Littlecote, and had that declaration produced investigation—committal—and trial, and so on, I might still have remained a little suspicious of our hero in spite of his acquittal: but when I find nothing of the kind; on the contrary, when I find the whole edifice crumbling to its foundation-stone, and the supposed culprit leading the life of a country gentleman of high position for eleven long years after the suspicion was set afloat, instead of breaking his neck the same year over a stile three feet high, I unhesitatingly say the case is "not proven," and I now leave it to my readers, as jurors, to decide *according to the evidence*, whether, *as against Darell* the charge can be sustained: and I ask them whether, had it been a grave case of History, they are of opinion that a Hume or a Gibbon would have given it a place in their pages, or like Camden, would have cast it aside as utterly unworthy of credit.

I cannot conclude without quoting the following very apposite passage from a publication by Lord Campbell relating to Shakspeare:—"Observing" he says, "what fictitious statements are introduced into the published 'Lives' of living individuals, in our own time, when truth in such matters can be so much more easily ascertained, and error so much more easily corrected, we should be slow to give faith to an uncorroborated statement made near three centuries ago by persons who were evidently actuated by malice."

I am, your's very sincerely,

C. E. Long.

MEMOIR OF THE

Late Charles Edward Long, Esq.

Whilst the present number of our Magazine was passing through the press, intelligence was received of the Death of our esteemed associate, the contributor of the foregoing Article.

Mr. Long died aged 65, on the 25th September last, at the Lord Warden Hotel, Dover, on his return from Homburg, at which place he had been residing for a short time in the hope of benefit to his failing health.

Mr. Long was born at Benham-park, Berkshire, on the 28th of July, 1796. He was a grandson of Edward Long, Esq., Judge of the Admiralty Court in Jamaica, and the historian of that island; being the elder and only surviving son of Charles Beckford Long, Esq., of Langley-hall, Berks., who died in 1836, by Frances Monro, the daughter and heir of Lucius Tucker, Esq., of Norfolk-street, Park-lane.

He was educated at Harrow School, under the tuition of Dr. Butler, the late Dean of Peterborough; and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he gained a Declamation prize, and in 1818 won the Chancellor's gold medal for English verse—subject "Rome." He graduated B.A. 1819, M.A. 1822. With Harrow and its concerns he always maintained a friendly relation. He materially assisted the late Dr. Butler in his biographical notes to the Lists of Harrow Scholars, and during the last year we have observed his researches into the history of the founder John Lyon in the columns of the "Harrow Gazette."

Mr. Long was much attached to heraldry and genealogy; and his connection with the head-quarters of those studies, (the late

Lord Henry Molyneux Howard, Deputy Earl Marshal, having married his aunt,) gave him an introduction that was peculiarly advantageous, and which his own intelligence and good sense, accompanied by very agreeable manners, did not fail to improve. His researches were made with great taste and perseverance, and with a severe regard for truth. His own descent gave him some personal interest in such investigations; for his great-grandfather, Samuel Long, Esq., eldest son of Charles Long, Esq., M.P., of Hurts-hall, Suffolk, had married Mary, second daughter of Bartholomew Tate, Esq., of Delapré Abbey, Northamptonshire, and sister (and at length co-heir) of Bartholomew Tate, Esq., a co-heir to the baronies of Zouche of Haringworth, St. Maur, and Lovell of Cary.

During many years Mr. Long was a frequent correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

To the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica,* he communicated several rolls of arms; the voluminous papers relative to the disputed kindred of Wickham of Swalcliffe to the founder of New College; and a series of Hampshire Church-notes, taken by himself.

Several of his communications will also be found in the Journal of the Archæological Institute; and many in "Notes and Queries."

Mr. Long also took a considerable interest in the history of Wiltshire, and was an earnest promoter of the objects of our Society. He contributed to this Magazine in 1856 the "Descent of the Manor of Draycot Cerne," with a pedigree of Cerne and Hering, vol. iii. p. 178; and subsequently four successive articles on the biography and adventures of "Wild Darell" of Littlecote, the last of which appears in the present Number. He also procured for the same publication, from the Duchy of Lancaster Office, a survey of several manors in the county of Wilts, *temp.* Elizabeth.

In the first of these contributions (vol. iii. p. 181), Mr. Long modestly disclaims the intention of putting himself forward as "of the undoubted blood and lineage of the knightly race of Wraxhall and Draycot," but mentions "family traditions, a Wiltshire origin,

and the inference derived from scattered allusions in early times, of friendship, if not of kindred, as leading to that conclusion."

We have mentioned first these several contributions to periodical works; but our deceased friend had also appeared more distinctly as an author. His name was placed on the title-pages of two important pamphlets published in 1832 and 1833 in relation to Colonel Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," and written in defence of the military conduct of his uncle, Lieutenant-General Robert Ballard Long, in the campaign of 1811.

In 1845 he compiled with great care, and with the assistance of the present Garter, (to whom it was dedicated,) and other friends at the College of Arms, a volume entitled "Royal Descents: a Genealogical List of the several Persons entitled to Quarter the Arms of the Royal Houses of England." This work, though confined to shewing those who had a representation of royal blood, was welcomed with much approval by all students of genealogy; and was immediately imitated by the present Ulster, Sir Bernard Burke, in a larger work, in which he launched forth on the wider field of mere descent from royalty.

In 1859 Mr. Long edited for the Camden Society the "Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War; kept by Richard Symonds: from the Original MS. in the British Museum," a work valuable for its historical data, but more particularly for its church notes and heraldic memoranda.

Mr. Long was characterized by a cheerful and genial temper, ever manifesting itself in courtesies and kindnesses which endeared him to a wide circle of friends, and to many in a humbler sphere of life. His residence was usually in London, where he mixed sufficiently with the world to maintain an interest in the politics of the Whig party, to which he was attached, and to acquire all the information current in the best society; and the extent of his information derived both from men and books made his conversation as agreeable as his manners were ingratiating. He was unmarried, but has left two sisters, of whom one (Mrs. Douglas) is married.

His body was interred, by his own desire, in the churchyard of

Seale, co. Surrey, and his cousin, Henry Lawes Long, Esq., of Hampton-lodge in the same county, who was with him during the last fortnight at Dover, is left his executor.[1]

Fac-similes of Aubrey's Plans of Abury.

THE important paper on Abury, in the fourth volume of the Magazine (No. XII, published January, 1858), was illustrated by numerous lithographic plates and woodcuts, the considerable cost of which was most liberally defrayed by the author, William Long, Esq., M.A., of Bath.

Among the more curious of these illustrations, were the plates Nos. II. and III., pp. 315, 317, exhibiting, on a reduced scale, the earliest plans known to have been made of the extensive works and circles at Avebury; viz. those by the Wiltshire antiquary, John Aubrey, and which had remained unpublished for nearly two centuries.

Early in the last year, on a minute comparison with the originals in the Bodleian Library, by the Rev. Canon Jackson, it was ascertained that in copying the original of the first of these plates,—the "Survey of Aubury," the Oxford artist had unfortunately omitted three of the stones therein shown, and had somewhat misplaced a fourth. This coming to Mr. Long's knowledge, he at once decided to have fac-simile drawings, of the full size, made; and to present them when lithographed, to the Members of the Society. Through Mr. Long's zeal and liberality, we have now the gratification of adding the two new plates, as a sequel to the paper on Abury.

It is necessary to point out, that of the stones omitted from the "Survey," one is on the right of the avenue in the "way to Kinnet;" a second is in the "graffe" or ditch to the right of the entrance to the great circle; and the third is on the right side of

[1] We are indebted for the greater part of the above notice to the November number of the Gentleman's Magazine.

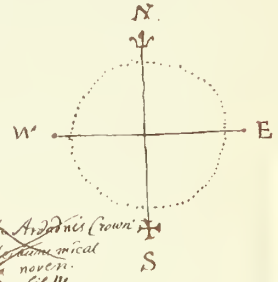
Plate 1.

Survey of AUBURY.

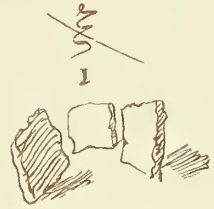
Sign: Au: ~~Britt: rob Saxonred~~
~~v Saxon Dictionary~~

In the Legier book of Malmesbury Abbey I find that this place belonged to ye Monastery, given by ~~- - - - -~~ & the name of Aubrey.

this was ~~first~~ projected by the halfe inch Scale



~~w Ardenes Crown~~
~~Antiquity Mill Mathematical never~~
~~Oxford Easter Cle. III~~



φ is the plant of ☿.

Profil of rampire & grasse.

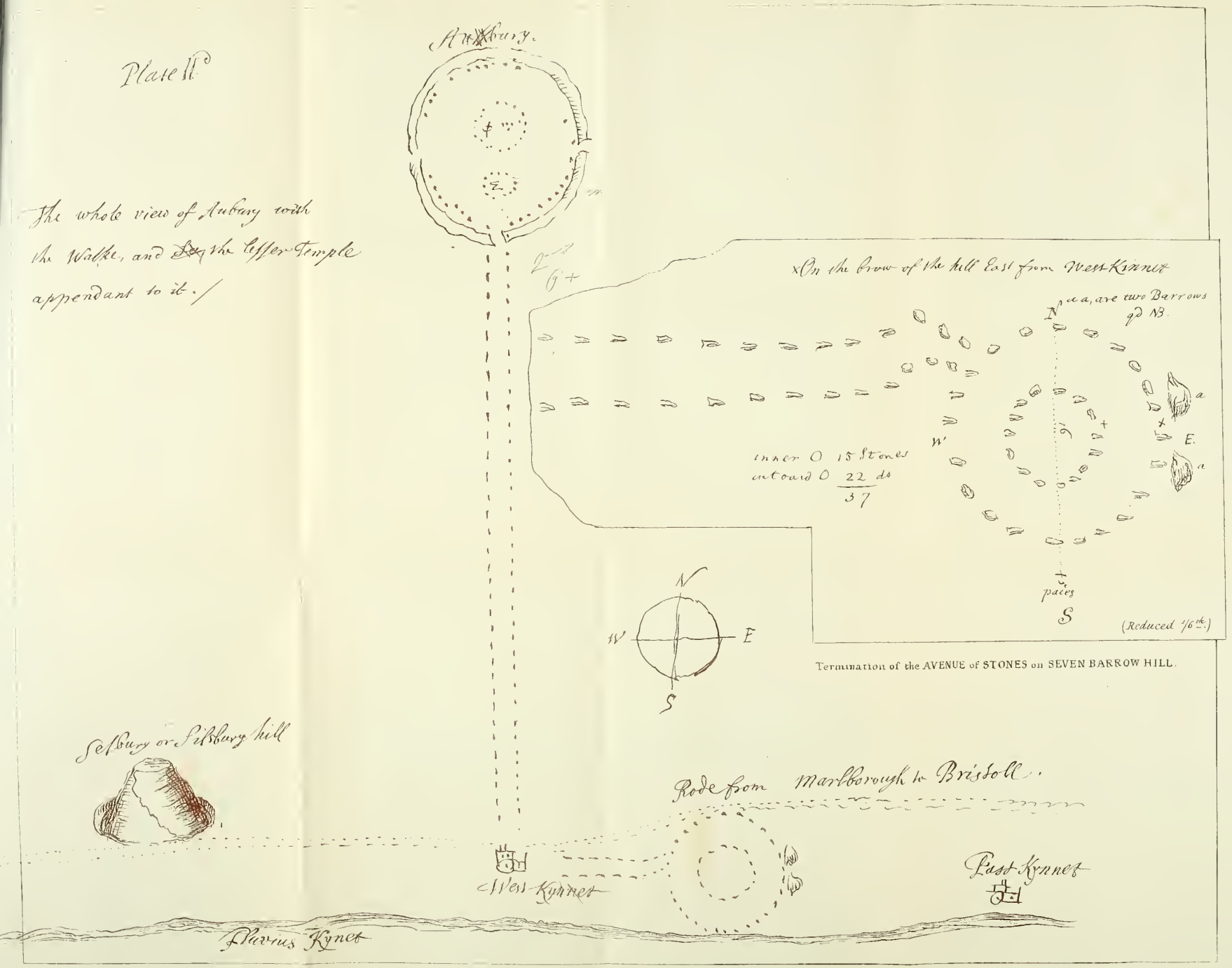
a, fower perches
b. fower perches

from S port to N port
or from W. port to E port
is 60 perches.

A. rampire.
B grasse.

J. Fisher, 1860

FAC-SIMILE OF JOHN AUBREY'S PLAN OF ABURY IN WILTSHIRE, About A.D. 1663. From "Aubrey's Monumenta Britannica." *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*



Termination of the AVENUE of STONES on SEVEN BARROW HILL.

FAC SIMILE of JOHN AUBREY'S GENERAL PLAN of AVEBURY in WILTSHIRE including the AVENUE of STONES leading to the Circles on Seven Barrow (now Overton) Hill.

Taken about A.D 1663. From "Aubrey's Monumenta Britannica" M.S. *in the Bodleian Library.*

the "southern circle." The stone misplaced is the one immediately adjoining that last referred to: it was shewn too much to the north, instead of forming part of the segment of a circle with the five stones adjoining. One or two other more trifling inaccuracies may be observed, on a comparison of the fac-similes with the former plates.

This correction of the plate involves a corresponding alteration in the first column of the table at p. 326; in which the number of stones of the southern circle standing in 1663 should be 22, in place of 21.

Two or three passages in Aubrey's account of Avebury were also omitted, in the transcript taken of it and its accompanying preface, for Mr. Long's paper. This omission was detected by Dr. Thurnam, on an examination of the MS. volume in the Bodleian Library, in June 1860. The first is an entire paragraph of the preface, which should have followed that ending—"he commanded me to put in print." (Magazine vol. iv. p. 313.) Here, Aubrey continues:

"But considering that the hinge of the Discourse depends upon Mr. Camden's *Kerrig y Druidd:* and having often been led out of the way, not only by common reports but by bookes, and for that I had scarcely seen hitherto any antiquitie which did not either fall short of Fame or exceeded it, I was for relying on my own eye-sight; and would not sett forth this Treatise (commit this Discourse to the presse), till I had taken a journey into North Wales to consider that and another called *Kerrig y Drewen.* But I never had the opportunity to undertake that journey: but lately (169$\frac{3}{4}$) my worthy friend Mr. Edward Lhuyd, Custos of the Museum in Oxford, hath made accurate Observations of the Antiquities in Wales, which I have quoted out of his Annotations to Camden's Britannia. Also I expected an account of such Temples in Scotland, by the help of Sir Robert Moray; but his death did put a stop to the Edition; till the yeare 1672 I had the happiness to correspond with the learned Dr. James Garden, Professor of Theologie at Aberdene."

This passage is important, as showing that the curious "preface," in which Aubrey gives the "storie" of his first "sight of the vast

stones" of Avebury in 1648, and of the visit of Charles II. in 1663, was one of the latest productions of his pen. Aubrey died in June 1697, and Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden (to the publication of which he here refers) appeared in 1695. In this preface he says;—

"The first draught (of the 'Description' of 'Aubury') was worn out with time and handling, and now, methinks, after many years lying dormant, I come abroad, like the ghost of one of those Druids."

In the preface there are other indications of its late date; and, altogether, it would appear that it was written within two years of Aubrey's death; or about thirty-three years after the "Discourse" to which it is prefixed. It was possibly composed during his retirement at the Earl of Abingdon's, at Lavington, in the summer of 1695.[1] It might have been later, by a year or so, but could scarcely have been written earlier.

The preface, (as will appear from what follows) belongs, not to the "Monumenta Britannica" as a whole; nor yet alone to the "Description of Aubury;" but is properly introductory to the first and more valuable part of the "M. B.," called "Templa Druidum;" which, towards the close of his life, when this preface was written, Aubrey had some thoughts of printing separately.[2]

In the original MS., the preface with its concluding salutation,

"*Vale*, JOHN AUBREY,"

is succeeded by the following sentence, now for the first time printed. "I shall proceed gradually, *a notioribus ad minus nota*, that is to say, from y^e^ Remaines of Antiquity less imperfect to those more imperfect and ruinated; which brings me first to discourse of that vast and ancient monument at Aubury in Wiltshire."

The following curious account of the circles on Overton Hill, as they stood towards the end of 17th century, had not been met with by Mr. Long, at the time his paper was printed. It is from "A Fool's Bolt soon shott at Stonage," published by Thomas Hearne in 1725, (reprinted 1810, vol. iv. p. 506). The writer of the "Fool's Bolt" died about 1675; and his description of these

[1] Britton's Life of Aubrey, p. 72. [2] *Ibid* p. 90.

circles cannot have been written many years later than that by Aubrey. (See Wilts Magazine, vol. vi. p. 328.)

"On Seven burrowes Hill, 4 miles west of Marleburrow near London way, are 40 great stones, sometimes standing, but now lying in a large circle, inclosing an inner circle of 16 great stones, now lying also; testified to be an old British Trophie by the Anglo-British name thereof, (viz.) Seaven Burrowes, and by those 7 huge burrowes very near it with fragments of men's bones." This extract shows that West Kennet or Overton Hill was, in the 17th century, known as Seven-Barrow Hill—a name now disused. It also explains the title which has been appended to Plate II.

It remains only to add to Mr. Long's Paper on Abury, the following *Corrigenda*, which were privately printed by him soon after its publication; but have not hitherto appeared in this Magazine.

Vol. iv. page 324, line 22.—"I have erred in supposing that there were any impressions of Mr. Crocker's survey of 1812, with stones marked upon them which were erased from the plate before the publication of the second volume of Sir R. C. Hoare's "North Wilts," in 1819. The fact, however, remains, that stones were found in the garden, pointed out by Mr. Lawrence Chivers.

Page 325, line 3.—The stone here spoken of as erect, although much reduced in size, and which is that next to the stone marked *g* on Sir R. Hoare's plan, is in fact a large, unbroken, and recumbent stone (and is so marked on Stukeley's ground plot), and the portion above ground is merely a spur of its base. In the table at page 326, I have reckoned it among the stones which are erect; but it should have been numbered among those that have fallen: and, in that case, the numbers of those *standing* in the Northern outer circle, in Stukeley's time, would be 3; in 1819, 3 instead of 4; and in 1857, 2 instead of 3; and the number *recumbent* in 1857, would be 13 instead of 12.

Page 326.—Cancel the second note at the bottom of the page."

Page 313, line 21.—For "plain-tables," *read* "plain-table."

Donations to the Museum and Library.

The Committee feel great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the following Donations presented to the Society:—

By the Royal Institute of British Architects:—Papers read before the Institute during the Session 1859—60. Ditto during the Session 1860—61. List of Members, &c. 4to. 1861.

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By the Kent Archæological Society:—Their Transactions "Archæologia Cantiana" vols. ii. and iii. (1859—60), 8vo.

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By Sergeant Chant, *Royal Wilts Militia*:—Silver Penny of King Stephen, found in a garden at Devizes.

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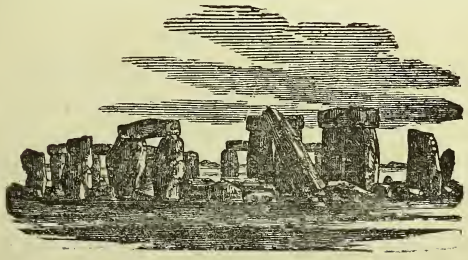
SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY,

A.D. 1853.



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OF

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CORRECTED AND ENLARGED

BY

JOHN EDWARD JACKSON, M.A., F.A.S.,

Rector of Leigh Delamere, and Hon. Canon of Bristol,

AND PUBLISHED BY

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THE

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WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

THE EIGHTH GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society,

HELD AT SHAFTESBURY,

Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, 21st, 22nd, and 23rd August,

1861.

PRESIDENT OF THE MEETING,

THE RT. HON. T. H. S. SOTHERON ESTCOURT, M.P., D.C.L.

OWING to the convenient vicinity of the Town to that part of the County of Wilts which the Archæological Society proposed to visit this year, its Annual Meeting was held at Shaftesbury in Dorsetshire. The 7th August had been originally fixed, but in consequence of the death of Lord Herbert of Lea, a postponement became necessary. Though this alteration disturbed in some degree arrangements which had been made, the attendance was nevertheless good, and the Meeting a successful one.

THE RT. HON. MR. SOTHERON ESTCOURT, having taken the chair in the Market House at one o'clock, said that his first duty as President on that occasion was to give to every one a hearty welcome, and to express his regret that they had been compelled to postpone the meeting for a fortnight in consequence of the lamented death of Lord Herbert. This postponement was to be regretted, in consequence of many houses in the town and neighbourhood having been filled with visitors who would have attended the meeting. He was

sure, however, that no person present would be inclined to find fault with the arrangement, because the death of Lord Herbert pressed too heavily on the minds and hearts of all who lived in the neighbourhood of Wilton to enable them to come to Shaftesbury and take part in the ordinary business of the Association. He felt that he could not let this occasion pass without a few remarks on the sad cause which had occasioned that adjournment. He believed, that within his own recollection, no event had occurred in England which had called forth with so unanimous a voice such an unmistakeable proof of national sympathy as the withdrawal from among us of that good and excellent man. They had no doubt read the comments in the publications of the day, which had vied with each other in pointing out particular parts of his extraordinary and admirable career. He might appeal to all present whether the tone of those remarks in pointing out the excellence of character of the late Lord Herbert, was not the same in all the publications; and although the expressions of respect and esteem might vary, the spirit of the remarks was the same. When we consider the manner in which a man like Pitt was early cut off in the midst of a useful public career, we cannot but feel some amount of regret; and when, as in the case of the late Duke of Wellington, we see a man of great age taken from us who has reached the highest honours of the State, our regret is somewhat diminished; but in the case of Lord Herbert, who was so universally beloved by his family and friends, so respected by all who knew him, and so honoured by the kingdom at large, it is impossible not to feel the deepest cause for sorrow at the termination of his useful and remarkable career. Those, however, who were present on this occasion felt that the death of Lord Herbert was more than a public loss. They knew him as the President of the Wiltshire Archæological Association, and he, (the Chairman) felt that he was now addressing an audience made up of neighbours who knew him personally. He had known Lord Herbert for thirty years as a personal friend. He well recollected the first time when he saw him, a boy of eight or nine years of age, with his graceful form, his expressive eyes, and his elegant bearing.

He watched his career at Harrow and at Oriel College. He recollected, also, when Lord Herbert first came forward to take a part in public life, that he expressed his earnest desire to make himself useful to his country and his fellow men. He possessed the advantages of birth and family; he inherited a noble, an historic name; he had ample means, a charming presence, most graceful manners; and all these good gifts, from the earliest period of his life, he devoted to the service of his country. In his (the Chairman's) earlier days it is true that many modes of improvement were suggested, but he trusted they would permit him to say that thirty years ago the task of improvement was more difficult than it is now. There were, however, no methods of improvement, no plans for the benefit of the country, for the promotion of the welfare of the Church, for the enlightenment of his fellow men, and for the spread of education—there was nothing of a good and philanthropic character to which Lord Herbert did not lend a helping hand. In all these matters his only thought was how he could best discharge his duties to God and man. Besides what he had done for the churches and schools in this county, they all knew what a glorious Church he had erected as it were at his own door, in place of the one that had gone to decay; and last year he was present at the opening of a Church at Bemerton, in memory of the good George Herbert, to the erection of which he had contributed most liberally. Besides those charities that were known, much more was done in a secret manner, and in the purest spirit, without being known or appreciated by the world. As an old acquaintance he (Mr. Estcourt) could personally testify to the individual character of Lord Herbert. He did not believe there ever existed more refined and charming society, or a more truly Christian family, than that which he had met at Wilton House. The venerable Countess—his mother, was then the centre of a family circle, every member of which vied in their attention to her. It was impossible to conceive a more charming circle, impossible to witness a more attractive spectacle than was there present, with all the play of fascinating conversation, and with all that was pleasing and agreeable in manners. And when a

wife and children were added to this charming and refined society, to the last there remained the same excellent spirit and the same graceful manner. After reverting to the intimacy which had for many years existed between Lord Herbert and himself, both in public and private, he could not help observing that he considered him to have been the most perfect model of a Christian and a gentleman it had ever been his good fortune to meet with. He would now make a remark which he trusted would not be considered inappropriate on that occasion. They all knew the great part which the ancestors of Lord Herbert had performed in the history of this country, and that among them were men of the first character for ability; but perhaps the greatest of all was Sir Philip Sidney. It is true that comparatively little is known in our day of his public career to justify the wonderful amount of his fame. But there is one thing with which we cannot help being struck, and that was his remarkable likeness in character to Lord Herbert. Sir Philip Sidney was we are told, "the Mirror of Knighthood," which meant that he was possessed of all that was becoming in the character of a gentleman—generosity, courtesy, and self-controul. One of the most remarkable features in the character of Lord Herbert, was the entire abnegation of self, and the perfect controul which he possessed over all his feelings. Such was the harmony of his character, that whenever he was brought into party collisions—and, he too, like all public men, had to suffer from those asperities to which all statesmen are exposed—no man had ever reason to feel that he had acted with asperity in return. Therefore if Sir Philip Sidney was looked up to as one of the great stars during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, surely the name of Lord Herbert may equally be referred to as that of one who was the "Mirror of Knighthood" in the reign of Queen Victoria. He trusted they would pardon him for detaining them so long on this subject, but he felt more than ever how impossible it is to express in words our feelings, when those feelings were strong. There was one remark which he wished to make before he sat down. He trusted they would not allow the feelings which pervaded their minds at the present time to evaporate in words.

He wished that some appropriate means would be devised of recording for the admiration of those who came after, and for the purpose of handing down to posterity, the name of one who preferred the welfare of his country, the Church, his friends, and neighbours to himself, and who was ever foremost to promote every good cause, and everything that tended to the glory of God and the good of man. He had taken the liberty of bringing this matter before them, because he knew there was a strong feeling on this subject throughout the county of Wilts.

He would now turn to the business of the meeting; and in the first place he thought the Wiltshiremen ought to offer an apology to the men of Dorset for making a foray across the border into their county. It certainly would have been a most impudent act, if they had not been told that their Dorset friends were still behind Wilts, and that they had no Archæological Society of their own. The Wiltshire Society had visited Shaftesbury for the purpose of enlarging the sphere of their operations, and he trusted that their visit to Dorsetshire would lead to the establishment of a sister association in that county. The counties of Dorset and Wilts were very nearly connected. They were both in the same diocese. He should like, then, to see two Archæological Societies holding alternate meetings every year. The Right Hon. gentleman then remarked that archæology was a very fascinating study, for it had its merits and its demerits. They all knew that an imaginative turn of mind was the property of antiquaries, and at these meetings the members were desirous of hearing all sides of the question, and of forming their own judgment, on the speculations of their friends. He concluded a long and very amusing speech by dwelling on the advantages of archæological pursuits, and by alluding to the business which would be transacted during the meeting in Shaftesbury.

The Rev. A. C. Smith, of Yatesbury, Calne, one of the Hon. Secretaries, read

THE REPORT.

"The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural

History Society, has again the satisfaction of recording the general prosperity of the Society, the number of names now on the books amounting to about the same as last year, the reduction by death, withdrawal, or removal from the county being somewhat more than counterbalanced by the enrolment of new members.

"Your Committee cannot pass over in silence the grievous loss sustained by this Society in common with the country generally, and more especially the county of Wilts, by the death of their last President (Lord Herbert). His courtesy and kindness, the grace and elegance which he threw around everything he took in hand, even more perhaps than his high talents and unrivalled taste, will long be cherished amid our fondest recollections. Those who were present at our Annual Meeting in 1854, at Salisbury, whilst they remember the magnificent collection of works of art at Wilton, will as vividly recollect the noble hospitality and the kind attentions of its lamented occupier.

"Your Committee also desires to pay a passing tribute of respect to another member of the Society, taken from us during the past year, the Rev. J. H. Bradney, of Bradford on Avon. At the General Meeting held there in 1857, he acted as President, and contributed much to its success, both by the Address he delivered, and the urbanity with which he conducted the proceedings.

"With regard to Finance, your Committee is enabled to speak encouragingly. Our receipts for the past year have been fully equal to our current expenditure.

"To pass on to the work done during the last twelve months.

"With regard to the Magazine the reason why it has been necessary during the present year to postpone the publication for a little while is, that both the press of our printer, and the time and attention of our editor the Rev. Canon Jackson, have been entirely absorbed in preparing another work connected with the county, which the Society has undertaken to publish. Aubrey, the Wiltshire Antiquary, made 200 years ago considerable collections for the Topography of Wiltshire, especially the Northern part, of which we have as yet no regular history. The manuscript which

contains his collections was printed many years ago, but so few copies were made of it, that the book is seldom to be met with. Canon Jackson has been for some time occupied in preparing another edition, to be enlarged by notes and additions of his own, and to be illustrated with plates, chiefly of the family heraldry formerly in the windows of the churches and gentlemen's houses, the greater part of which have long since perished. The volume is now passing through the press, and is considerably advanced towards completion.[1]

"Nor is that the only fruit of our labours since the last annual meeting, another step having been taken in furthering the scheme proposed a few years ago for collecting accurate details towards the parochial History of Wilts. It will be in the recollection of the Society, that at our General Meeting held in September 1855, a scheme was proposed by the Rev. John Wilkinson for obtaining a general Parochial History throughout the county of Wilts. This was followed by the issue of a pamphlet, containing "Heads of information suggested for Parochial Histories," but the scheme, although carried out in some instances with success, did not produce the result which was anticipated, partly perhaps from an unwillingness in some of the clergy to make too minute an enquiry into private affairs, and partly from a feeling of inability in others to work in a somewhat intricate subject. The plan however has received fresh encouragement from the Bishop of Salisbury, who on the retirement of Mr. Wilkinson has placed it under the more immediate patronage of our Society; and his Lordship is most anxious that its success may be secured by the clergy and laity rendering such assistance as they are able to give. The "heads of information" have been re-arranged, and put into the form of questions framed as simply as possible. These we propose to circulate.

"The Museum and Library have been augmented by sundry gifts, through the liberality of Mr. Poulett Scrope, Mr. Tugwell, Mr. Musselwhite, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Neate, Colonel Olivier, Captain Gladstone, Mr. A. Stratton, Rev. H. Bartlett, Mr. Chant, Rev. W.

[1] It has since been published, under the title of "Collections for Wiltshire, by Aubrey & Jackson." 4to.

C. Lukis, and others, to whom our best thanks are due: but your Committee would once more repeat the strong opinion which it still entertains, that the possession of a permanent and suitable building, appropriated to those several departments, will alone attract valuable collections, whether by way of loan, deposit, or gift; indeed this has been plainly intimated by several would-be donors and depositors.

"Your Committee has one more remark to make in concluding the Report, and that is with reference to augmenting the numbers of subscribing members. While fully satisfied with the progress the Society has made during the eight years of its existence, your Committee feels assured that its ranks would be considerably increased, were its objects and its work more generally understood by all classes; and as the assistance of Wiltshiremen in all parts of the county, is essential to a successful prosecution of our investigations into the past and natural history of the county, your Committee again entreats the co-operation of all the members in setting forth the work it has done as well as what it proposes to do, of which a general prospectus has been prepared, and may be had on application to the Secretaries."

The Chairman then moved that the Report just read be received and adopted, and that the officers of the Society be re-elected. This resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. E. Hill then read a paper on "The Early History of Shaftesbury," prepared by the Rev. J. J. Reynolds, who was not able to attend the Meeting in consequence of a domestic affliction which he had recently sustained.[1]

The company then left the Market-house and with Mr. Batten at their head, proceeded to view some excavations on the site of the old Abbey, the Churches, an ancient Cross in the grounds of Mr. Bennett on Castle Hill, and other objects of interest in the locality.

[1] We do not introduce into the Account of the Proceedings an epitome either of this or of the other Papers read at the Shaftesbury Meeting, as it is hoped they will all appear in the Society's Magazine.

THE DINNER.

At five o'clock between seventy and eighty ladies and gentlemen assembled at the Grosvenor Arms Hotel, where a dinner had been laid out with great taste by Mr. and Mrs. Burdon. The Marquis of Westminster kindly sent a fat buck for the occasion.

After Her Majesty's name, but omitting other usual toasts for want of time, the Chairman proposed the health of Mr. Brine the Mayor of Shaftesbury, with thanks to him, Mr. Batten, and other gentlemen in the town for the exertions they had made to promote the success of the meeting.

The Mayor briefly acknowledged the compliment. The inhabitants felt deeply the honour which had been paid them by the Archæologists of Wiltshire, and he hoped that the next time they came, Dorsetshire would be found to possess a kindred Society of its own.

Mr. Batten had felt some diffidence in undertaking the office of Curator, because, although his heart and soul were in the affair, he feared that his efforts had not been crowned with that success which would have attended the exertions of another. He might, perhaps, say that he had been a Curator all his life, and he was now getting on in years. He had not only investigated ancient ruins at home, but he had also done a similar thing in Carthage, in Corinth, in Egypt, in India, and in other parts of the world, and an occupation of this kind was therefore one of great delight to him. He had entered most thoroughly into the researches which had been going forward on the site of the old Abbey, and he trusted that they might be allowed to continue them. It was a source of much pleasure to him to find the Archæologists of Wiltshire crossing the border, and coming into Dorsetshire, where he trusted they had received a hearty welcome. There were in the neighbourhood many things the history of which required to be developed. He then pointed out the utility of a Museum in bringing together objects of curiosity, and should be glad to see a permanent one at Shaftesbury.

In proposing the health of the Bishop and Clergy, the Chairman was sure that at the meetings of this Society all felt deeply indebted to them, because besides the sanction which their presence

afforded, they were able from local knowledge to tell much that was interesting and that could not generally become known without their assistance. He would beg leave to couple with the toast the name of the Ven. Archdeacon Hony, an old and valued friend of his, who had come some little distance to encourage them by his presence. He wished he could have added the name of Mr. Reynolds, but in his absence would select that gentleman's *locum tenens*, Mr. Hill.

The Ven. Archdeacon Hony, in returning thanks, said the objects of Archæological Societies were certainly very much connected with the clergy. Their Churches were, of course, one of the first objects of interest, whilst very much, not only of interest, but of truly valuable information, was connected with Archæology. Many of their Churches had now been restored, and the work was being done in much better taste than it was many years since, a result which might be attributed very much to the study of the architecture of our forefathers. On every account, the Clergy were greatly interested in the objects of this Society.

The health of the Local Secretaries, Mr. Bennett and the Rev. C. J. Glyn, was duly honoured.

The Rev. C. J. Glyn thanked the members of the Society for the compliment which they had paid the inhabitants of Shaftesbury, and assured them that he had felt the greatest pleasure in assisting his friend Mr. Bennett, in promoting the objects of the gathering. With the Mayor, he should be glad to see a Dorsetshire Archæological Society, and if it could be amalgamated with the Wiltshire Society, he thought it would be so much the better.

Mr. Bennett hoped that if the Society visited Shaftesbury again, they would be able, with the permission of the Marquis of Westminster, and the assistance of their worthy Curator, to make some explorations in the sides of the surrounding hills, where he believed that interesting discoveries could not fail to be made. One duty that he had to perform was to propose the health of the Marquis of Westminster, with thanks to his Lordship for the venison he had sent for the dinner, as well as for the permission he had given them to explore the ruins of the Abbey.

The Chairman begged to observe that he had received a very kind letter from Lord Westminster about a month ago, in reply to a communication of his own, having reference to the present meeting. His Lordship expressed great regret that circumstances would not allow him to be present, and intimated that he felt great interest in the success of the meeting. It would be his business, as President, to write to his Lordship, giving him some little account of what had passed, and he was not without hope that they might be allowed to continue the investigation. He suspected that many curiosities were lying hidden in the soil of Shaftesbury, and with the assistance of such an able Curator as Mr. Batten, a great deal might be discovered of considerable interest to all antiquaries. Mr. Estcourt then proposed the health of Mr. Alfred Seymour and Mr. Grove of Fern.

Mr. Grove said he felt extremely grateful for the very kind manner in which they had drunk his health. He wished that he could have done more to promote the success of the meeting. He had many old parchments and other things which he should have been glad to have shown to the Society, but unfortunately he had been unable to lay his hand upon them at the proper moment. Mr. Grove of Zeals, also had some curious things, but he had been obliged to leave home.

Mr. Alfred Seymour said he was exceedingly glad to have been of assistance to the Society in sending to the Museum such things as he had either collected in his travels, or inherited. He rejoiced to find that the Society had crossed the border, and availed itself of the hospitality of a town so ancient and so renowned in history as the one in which they were then assembled. He only regretted that Dorsetshire, with which he was very closely connected, was unable to boast of a sister Society, but that was a want which he also hoped to see remedied ere long.

The Chairman said the success and pleasantness of their meetings had always been greatly enhanced by the presence of ladies; and for himself he thought nothing was so stupid as the old fashion of gentlemen dining alone, and leaving the ladies to come in in the evening. He rejoiced to see so many ladies present at that table,

and they would be sadly deficient in gallantry if they allowed the evening to pass without expressing their sense of the honour so conferred. He would therefore propose the health of the ladies, with thanks to them for having attended the meeting.

The Mayor gave the health of the President, Mr. Estcourt, which was enthusiastically received.

The Chairman was very much obliged to the Mayor for the manner in which he had proposed his health. He did not conceive that any man who took a part in meetings of this kind could be said to be at all overstepping the position in which he was placed. He believed that nothing so conduced to the education of the people of this country, as the mixing up of different classes of Society for a common object, when that object was not only of an innocent and rational, but of an educational and improving character. The progress of education during the last thirty years had been most favourable to the developement of meetings for such objects as had then called them together. There had been a great change for the better, and he was most thankful that his lot had been cast in a generation when that improvement had taken place. Casting his eyes back over the number of years embraced in their archæological scope, he had often asked himself how was it possible that the Britons, who were possessed of letters and good schools, and were fond of literature and poetry, should not, as far as we knew, have left a single atom of writing or a single particle of literature for 400 years and upwards, from the time when Britain was made known by the invasion of Julius Cæsar? Coming to another period, to the 600 years during which the Saxons lived here, it was remarkable what a little remained to us. They had writers, poets, and historians, and yet it might be said, in a manner, that they had left nothing behind them. Then we came to the Normans, and to that amalgamated nation called by the old name of English, and yet nearly 800 years were allowed to pass without any such indications of the social improvement of the people as those of which he held the present meeting to be one. The change had been a pleasing one in every respect, and as good patriots they

ought to be glad of it—as country gentlemen, too, they ought to be glad of it, because they knew that it diffused a refined, a literary, and a superior feeling and taste among their neighbours. It was pleasing to make for themselves such opportunities as the present, of meeting in social intercourse for a rational and intellectual object —to pass an evening pleasantly, and to receive a certain amount of fresh information.

Mr. Estcourt then left the chair, and the company separated.

THE CONVERSAZIONE.

In the evening there was a Conversazione at the Market House, which was numerously attended.

Mr. Alfred Seymour read a paper on Wardour.

The Rev. W. H. Jones, of Bradford-on-Avon, next read a paper on "the Wiltshire possessions of the Abbess of Shaftesbury."

THURSDAY.

Under the guidance of the Local Secretaries, the Rev. H. J. Glyn and Mr. Bennett, a large party of excursionists, having on their way visited King's Settle Hill, and Castle Rings, inspected the Church of Donhead St. Mary's, where their attention was especially directed to the remarkable and (as is supposed) unique *telescope*-altar-table, which was at a former period moved into the centre of the chancel at the time of celebration of the Holy Communion, placed east and west, and then lengthened by means of drawing out the top, after the manner of modern telescope dining tables: other objects of interest were the ancient font and the capitals of the pillars. Hence to Donhead St. Andrew where the Church, lately restored, elicited much commendation: and then to the ruins of Old Wardour Castle. Here the company remained a considerable time, examining the massive walls, the ruined staircases and chambers, the bold architecture, groined roofs, and elegant window tracery still apparent amidst the ivy which encircled them. Nor did they omit to mark the impressions in the outer walls left by the cannon directed against the Castle when it sustained its memorable

siege, and was so gallantly defended by the Lady Blanche Arundel, the history of which had been recounted to the Society the previous evening by Mr. Alfred Seymour, in his paper on Wardour Castle, and the knowledge of which added very considerably to the interest of those who now visited the ruins. After luncheon, the next point was Tisbury. Here the fine old Parish Church with its restored nave and aisles, the floriated windows of the Chancel, the old carved oak ceilings of the aisles, one bearing date 1535, and the other 1616; the monumental brass of Lawrence Hyde, grandfather of the Chancellor Edward Earl of Clarendon, and last though not least, the venerable parish clerk and sexton, who has held those offices sixty years, and is now ninety years old, in turn received notice: nor must we forget a very ancient yew tree in the churchyard, whose hollow trunk is said to exceed any other in the county. From Tisbury the party walked across the fields to "Place Farm," an admirable example of early domestic architecture; here they were kindly received by the occupier, Mr. Bracher, who pointed out the old kitchen with its enormous fire place, the massive barn, the fine old gateway, and other objects of interest. From Place Farm the procession of carriages returned to Shaftesbury by Pyt House, the property of Mr. Vere Fane Benett; Hatch House, the old residence of the Hyde family, and the village of Semley.

About 7. 30. p.m. Mr. Sotheron Estcourt took the chair, and a valuable paper on Cromlechs was read by the Rev. W. C. Lukis. The lecture was illustrated by a number of well-executed diagrams; and the theory of their sepulchral character was afterwards confirmed, at the invitation of the Chairman, by the father of the lecturer F. C. Lukis, Esq., of Guernsey. This was followed by another paper on the curious holes called "Pen Pits," by Mr. William Cunnington, F. G. S. The object of these pits, extending over a vast area, and amounting to several thousands in number, has been the subject of much controversy, some inclining to the belief that they are simply the result of early quarrying for *querns* or millstones found in that locality; others contending that they were the rude habitations of primitive and uncivilized races; to the latter of

these views Mr. Cunnington gave his adherence, and proceeded to state his reasons, which were confirmed by the general opinion of the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN now called on Mr. Alexander of Westrop House, to explain some well executed tracings of the figure of St. Dunstan, and inscriptions found on the walls of Highworth Church ; and the meeting then separated, most of the company adjourning to the Museum, where they again inspected the many interesting objects collected there.

FRIDAY.

The excursionists, in nearly the same number, and as nearly as possible in the same order, left Shaftesbury this morning punctually at half-past nine, Stourhead being the principal attraction for to-day. They halted first at Motcombe Church, where the only object of interest is a rude stone slab, let into the wall over the porch, charged with a rude recumbent crowned figure, said to be that of Nebuchadnezzar devouring grass, but whether it is so or not is not very evident. Hence crossing the valley towards Mere, they turned aside to visit the interesting old house of Woodlands, which was courteously thrown open to inspection, by its occupier, Mr. Jupe. The old chapel, converted into a sitting room, with the tracery of its windows remarkably perfect; a dark dungeon, and other relics of antiquity are still to be seen at this excellent specimen of a dwelling-house of old times. In the venerable Church at Mere, the principal points for notice are the profusion of old carved oak in the panels and ends of the open seats; the rich and beautiful carved oak screens; the font, the ancient monumental brasses, one bearing date 1398; the other 1430; and the Grove Chapel. From Mere, and halting at Zeals House, where they were kindly received by Mrs. Grove, the party proceeded to Stourhead. Here they spent two hours in viewing the pictures and works of art, and in wandering through the beautiful pleasure grounds, but more especially in examining with minute attention the famous archæological collections of the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, the urns, stone

and bone implements, and a variety of articles of a domestic, warlike, or sepulchral character, most of which had been exhumed from the barrows of Wiltshire, and all of which were freely opened to the inspection of the Society by the present owner, Sir Henry Hoare. After dining at the Inn at Stourton the journey was continued to Pen Pits, Pen Church, and Gillingham; and so back to Shaftesbury. We cannot conclude our report of this congress without a word of praise to the inhabitants of Shaftesbury, who from the first moment of the proposal of the Society to visit their town being made known to them, were indefatigable in all their arrangements. We would particularly name the Local Secretaries, (the Rev. H. T. Glyn, and Mr. Bennett), the Curator of the Museum (Mr. W. Batten), and the Chairman of the Committee, the Worshipful the Mayor, Mr. Brine.

A List of Articles Exhibited

IN THE

TEMPORARY MUSEUM AT THE LITERARY INSTITUTION,

SHAFTESBURY,

August 7th, 8th, and 9th, 1861.

Those marked with an Asterisk have been presented to the Society.

The two silver MACES of the Borough of Shaftesbury were exhibited by the Mayor, (J. E. BRINE, Esq.,) and the BOROUGH SEALS by the Town Clerk, (C. BUCKLAND, Esq.)

By The Most Hon. the MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER:—

Quern (of Pudding Stone) dug up at Hawker's Hill, Motcombe. Flint Celt from Melbury. Rude sculpture of a Knight on horseback, in low relief, from old ruins at Shaftesbury. Ornamented tiles from Alcazar, Seville. Ancient halberts, swords, Turkish armour and stirrups. Petrified wood, fossil bones and vertebræ, from Motcombe. Large fossil palm head from Portland. Lepidodendron elegans and piece of Fern tree from coal. Fossil Nautilus from Shaftesbury, and Ammonites from Tisbury and Portland. Specimens of Sicilian agate, and coral from Delos. Several cases of stuffed birds. Model of Fonthill Abbey.

By ALFRED SEYMOUR, ESQ., *Knoyle House:*—

Marble head from Nineveh. Miniature Egyptian tomb enclosing a small figure. Egyptian seals, alabaster figure of a god, table with hieroglyphics, and copies of Egyptian paintings in fresco. Linen and cover-pieces of a tomb from Thebes. Fossil bones from the Kimmeridge clay at East Knoyle. Oil painting of Rudolph II. Ditto of Virgin and Child by Luca Della Robbini (15th century). Magician's bowl 1260. Damascus bowl and dish. Chinese enamel dish. Delft dish. Piece of malachite from Siberia.

By C. PENRUDDOCKE, ESQ., *Compton Park:*—

Large oil painting (full length) of Sir George Penruddocke, of Ivychurch, standard-bearer to William, Earl of Pembroke, at the battle of St. Quentin, 1557. Half-length portraits of Colonel John Penruddocke, beheaded at Exeter in 1665; and his wife Arundel. Also a gilt frame containing several documents including Cromwell's warrant for Colonel Penruddocke's execution, cap in which he was beheaded, his last letter to his wife, &c., Cavalier swords, pistols and other accoutrements.

By T. FRASER GROVE, ESQ., *Ferne House:*—

A list (written on parchment) of more than eighty persons who were hanged at Dorchester, Weymouth, Lyme, Sherborne, Bridport, Poole and Wareham,

on account of Monmouth's rebellion. New Zealand cloths, and several war clubs used by the natives. A large collection of Chinese curiosities, including rich dresses and personal decorations, articles of domestic use, books, drawings, idols, &c.

By J. Du Boulay, Esq., *Donhead Hall*:—

A collection of Norwegian, Russian, Japanese and other articles.

By John Hussey, Esq., *Marnhull*:—

Three manuscripts and a volume of sketches by Giles Hussey. Portrait of Prince Charles.

By the Rev. C. A. Griffith, *Berwick St. John*:—

Lock and key of the 16th century, and a specimen of encaustic tiles from Berwick Church. A rudely carved wooden shield from the ceiling of the North aisle bearing the words "Dominus Johes Beke" in raised letters; another shield charged with the instruments of the Passion, and the rudder of a ship several times repeated, also taken from the church roof. [According to Sir R. C. Hoare a considerable portion of the present church of Berwick St. John was built during the reign of Henry VII.; and the ships-rudder, the well-known badge of the Willoughby family, was probably placed here as a compliment to Edward Willoughby, Rector from 1485 to 1506, who may have been a contributor towards its erection. The shield bearing the name of Sir John Beke may also have been placed here by the same individual out of respect to the memory of one of his ancestors; the Willoughby family having derived the greater part of their possessions, together with the barony, from Walter Baron Beke, who died in 1316.]

Mr. Griffith also contributed a written description (accompanied with two drawings) of some ancient paintings discovered on the walls of the church, and a plate of the early monumental effigy of Sir Robert Lucy, engraved in Hoare's "Modern Wilts."

By the Rev. W. C. Lukis, *Collingbourne Ducis*:—

* Several interesting examples of ancient British urns, and an almost unique hammer head, from barrows in the neighbourhood of Collingbourne. Bronze celts from Ludgershall. Ox Horn from a long barrow at Tidcombe. Bone chisel and stone mullers from a cromlech in Temple Bottom near Rockley.

By Stephen B. Dixon, Esq., *Pewsey*:—

Flint celt found near Pewsey.

By G. Alexander, Esq., *Westrop House, Highworth*:—

* Tracings from some remains of ancient paintings recently discovered on the walls of Highworth Church.

By the Rev. J. J. Reynolds, *Shaftesbury*:—

An illuminated missal: Circa 1420.

By C. W. Gordon, Esq., *Wyncombe Park*:—

Impression from the great seal of Queen Mary. A large collection of fossils from the chalk and green sand of South Wilts, corn-brash and forest-marble of North Wilts, and carboniferous limestone of the neighbourhood of Frome; amongst them many fine examples of pentacrinites and other crinoidea.

By Henry Bennett, Esq., *Shaftesbury*:—

Beehive hat and hanger, formerly worn by the keepers in Cranborne chace. Keeper's flail, pocket swingel a weapon of defence used both by the keepers

and poachers, and wire noose used by poachers for catching deer. Medal found in Trinity church-yard, Shaftesbury. A large and interesting collection of stuffed birds and animals. Case of English butterflies. Case of shells mats, flax, &c., from New Zealand. Water colour drawings of scenery, &c., in ditto. Set of Chinese chessmen. Chinese Pagoda carved from the soap stone, cups, &c. Encaustic tiles from the site of Shaftesbury Abbey. Two silver apostle spoons—date 1628 and 1642. Green quartz ornament from New Zealand. Specimens of fossil wood, ammonites, echini, &c., illustrating the strata of the neighbourhood of Shaftesbury. Oil paintings, &c.

By J. F. Rutter, Esq., *Mere* :—

Bronze celt. Large collection of gold, silver, and copper coins. Fragments of urn in which 400 Roman coins were discovered at Mere in 1856, together with several of the coins. Circular seal found near Castle Hill, Mere, bearing Ermine a fess fretty, and the legend "*Sigillum Johis d' Orchard.*"

By Robert Swyre, Esq., *Shaftesbury* :—

The original byzant (of gilded wood in the form of a palm tree about three feet in height) which was formerly carried in procession to Enmore Green near Motcombe, on the Monday before Holy Thursday in each year, and presented by the Mayor of Shaftesbury to the stewards of the manor, together with a pair of gloves, a calf's head, a gallon of ale, and two loaves of wheaten bread, as an acknowledgement for the water which formerly supplied the town of Shaftesbury, and was brought on horses' backs from the well on Enmore Green. This ceremony being concluded, the byzant, usually hung with jewels and costly ornaments, was returned to the Mayor, and carried back into the town in procession. The first written authority for this custom occurs in the Court Rolls of Gillingham Manor, dated 1527, to the effect that it hath been the custom in the tithing of Motcomb, Dorset, time out of remembrance, on the Sunday after Holy-Cross Day, in May, for the villagers to assemble at Enmore Green, at one o'clock, and with the minstrels, and "mirth of game," to dance till two o'clock. "The Mayor of Shaston shall see the Queen's Bailiff have a penny loaf, a gallon of ale, and a calf's head, with a a pair of gloves, to see the order of the dance that day. And if the dance fail that day and the Queen's Bailiff have not his duty (*i.e.*, the calf's head, &c.,) then the Bailiff and his men shall stop the water from the wells of Shaston from time to time."

By Mrs. Chitty, *Cann* :—

Two pairs of byzant gloves, the last presented by the Mayor of Shaftesbury to the Lord of the Manor of Motcombe in accordance with the custom above described. Chinese pictures, purse, fan, &c.

By the Rev. J. Penny, *Blandford* :—

Fossils from the upper green sand, including sigillaria, section of nautilus (polished), and septaria.

By J. E. Brine, Esq., *Shaftesbury* :—

Fossil mushroom coral from Gillingham. Specimen of agate from Mere. A collection of ferns including many curious varieties of Scolopendrium from the neighbourhood of Shaftesbury. Cases of moths and beetles. Nearly 100 silver coins of various periods. Also a collection of antique china.

By J. R. Lyon, Esq., *Marnhull* :—

Sculptured stone (apparently a piece of groining) representing St. George

and the Dragon found in a wall; and twelve silver coins found in paring down a bank at West Orchard.

By Mr. CUNNINGTON, F.G.S., *Devizes*:—

Ancient British celts in stone and bronze from Manningford, Rushall, Beckhampton, &c.; also a series including the different forms found in the gravel of Amiens, with illustrations of those formed by the modern Indians, the whole constituting a very complete series of these implements which have recently attracted so much attention. Large specimen of fossil turtle from Swanage (*Pleurosternon marginatum*). A series of ammonites, trigonias, &c., illustrating the Portland beds of Tisbury. Flint sponges from the upper chalk of North Wilts. An achromatic microscope by Smith and Beck, in which was exhibited a collection of the desmidiæ of Wiltshire, including several rare forms lately discovered by F. Okeden, Esq. Globigerina cretacea from the chalk of Roundway, and specimens of the same shell from the bottom of the Atlantic.

By Mr. SOUL, *Shaftesbury*:—

Bronze celt found near Shaftesbury.

By Mr. W. DOWDING, *Fisherton*:—

A collection of crystallised flints (46 specimens).

By Mr. H. THOMPSON, *Gillingham*:—

Two Roman British urns. Roman earthern lamp. Cast from the leaden seal (bulla) of a bull of Pope John XXIII (1410—15) found at Gillingham. Brass apostle spoon. A series of Roman and other coins, abbey pieces, tokens, &c.

By Mr. T. P. LILLY, *Gillingham*:—

Sandstone quern from railway cutting near Semley. Ammonite and fossil shells from cuttings near Bradford Abbas, &c.

By W. HANNEN, Esq.. *Cann*:—

English cross bow. New Zealand and Malay weapons. Mexican bridle used for wild horses. Top of a warming pan with date 1673, and inscription, "WHO BURN'D THE BED? NOBODY." A collection of stuffed birds and animals in 18 cases.

By W. BATTEN, Esq., *Shaftesbury*:—

Case of humming birds. Several specimens of antique china. Tooth of Asiatic elephant. Canadian bead cap. Prussian gun stock. Oil painting. Head of Saint Peter—by Spagnoletti.

By Miss BATTEN, *Shaftesbury*:—

A collection of Chinese articles, including scent bottle, bracelets and handkerchiefs. A copy of the first newspaper printed in Chinese. Copy of the Salisbury Journal 1748. Silver cup and stand.

By Mr. G. PHILLIPS, *Shaftesbury*:—

A collection of silver and copper coins, case of butterflies, sling-stones from Hamilton Hill. Glass from Pompeii, Lava from Mount Vesuvius, &c.

By Mr. J. C. HIGHMAN, *Shaftesbury*:—

A collection of nearly 100 coins, and several antique silver articles of domestic use.

By M. ANKETILL, Esq., *Notting Hill, London*:—

Five ancient maps (in fine condition) of Dorset, Somerset, and parts of Somerset and Devon.

By Mrs. C. Buckland, *Shaftesbury* :—
A collection of minerals, two branches of coral, and several sections of fossil shells.

By Mrs. Rutter, *Layton* :—
A large collection of fossils from the upper green sand of the neighbourhood of Shaftesbury, including two fine specimens of sigillaria, a very fine specimen of fossil turtle *(Trionyx ?)* showing the plastron and carapace nearly perfect, Trigonia Phillipsii, Nautilus filled with carbonate of lime, section of ammonite, &c. Also specimens of Kimmeridge coal money (?)

By Mrs. Downs, *Shaftesbury* :—
A large and valuable collection of antique china. Tray of bird's eggs. Several specimens of ammonites from the upper green sand. Coins, shells, Ormolu clock, &c.

By Mrs. Glead, *Shaftesbury* :—
Case of preserved butterflies.

By Mr. J. Targett, *Shaftesbury* :—
An ancient skillet, the metal handle bearing in raised letters the inscription "ye wages of sin is death."

By E. Thomas, Esq., *Cann* : -
Ancient carving in oak (subject unknown.)

By J. C. Thomas, Esq., *Shaftesbury* :—
A collection of gold and silver coins. Several ancient books, including "The Preacher's Tripartite," 1657. Theophrastus and Martin's Lectures read by Mr. Upjohn at the Three Swans Inn, Shaston, 1751, &c. "Also Head of Garrick," and "Dutch Group."

By Mr. John Baker, *Warminster* :—
A collection of fossils from the upper green sand near Warminster.

By Mr. Gatehouse, *Shaftesbury* :—
Specimens of Bath, Tisbury, and Shaftesbury green stone.

By Mr. Whitmarsh, *Melbury* :—
Specimen of Melbury stone.

By Mr. Coombe, *Ansty* :—
Specimens of stone from Ansty hole quarry, and Hazelton quarry.

By Mr. J. Mills, *Shaftesbury* :—
Several cases of stuffed birds, fossils, &c.

By Lord Arundel,
Specimens of Tisbury stone.

By Miss Patteson,
Collection of Eggs.

Ancient History of Shaftesbury.

By the Rev. J. J. Reynolds.

THE town in which we are now assembled claims a very high antiquity, and at certain periods it has been the scene of events of considerable interest.

If we may believe Geoffrey[1] of Monmouth, it was built by Hudibras, King of Britain 950 B.C. Hudibras was grandfather of Lear the hero of one of Shakspeare's plays. Geoffrey tells us that an eagle is said to have spoken while the wall of the town was being built, "and indeed," he adds, "I should have transmitted the speech to posterity had I thought it true, as the rest of the history." Others, say Camden and Hutchins, state that instead of an eagle it was a man named Aquila, who prophesied to the effect that the sovereignty of Britain after passing to Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman, should return to the ancient British race. As the mingled blood of all these races is said to flow in the veins of our present gracious Queen, we may consider the prophecy, if ever uttered, to have had its fulfilment. Drayton would make the prophet neither man nor eagle, but an angel. Other chronicles repeat the statement of the early foundation of the town. Holinshed ascribes it to Lud son of Liel, eighth king of the Britons from Brute the Trojan. John of Brompton however refers it to the brave Chief Cassibelan about 60 B.C. These statements perhaps simply prove, that in the earliest historical times, it was believed to have existed from a very remote period. Each of these Chiefs or petty Kings may have been its patron, as were greater monarchs after them, but its magnificent situation had probably led to its permanent occupation, at a period far anterior to either of these dates. Its ancient name "Caer Palladur," bespeaks a British origin. "Caer" means a city or town; "Palladur," the shaft of a spear, or

[1] Book ii., chap 9.

the shaft of a pillar,[1] and hence a pillar or tower. Shaftsburgh or Shaftesbury seems to be simply a Saxon translation of the British name the shaft or tower-burgh. Other meanings of the name Palladur have been suggested, but the fact of the Saxons having substituted the word "Shaft" for "Palladur" is, to my mind, a strong presumption of the meaning to be attached to the word. The aborigines of this Island, it is known, were accustomed to erect round towers on lofty wooded eminences. The name therefore may have arisen from such a tower built here by the very earliest inhabitants, the situation being such as they were wont to select,—a high and commanding position in the neighbourhood of a wooded country, and so thickly wooded was it that there was a saying that a squirrel could travel from Shaftesbury to Gillingham without touching ground. In the ordnance map it is still marked as Gillingham Forest. From one of these ancient round towers erected on Castle Hill by those early settlers who journeyed hither perhaps from the plains of Shinar,[2] this town may have received its earlier appellation "Caer Palladur," the city of the Pillar or tower, given to it pre-eminently from the Shaft-like appearance such a tower so situated would have when viewed from the country round. Traces of very ancient masonry have been found on Castle Hill, and tradition from the earliest times asserts that a castle or tower once existed there, yet we know that none has stood there within what may be termed historical times. The ruined British Tower was probably succeeded by a Roman "Castrum Exploratorium." On the very brow of Castle Hill to the West is a small mount surrounded by intrenchments, its area about an acre. These

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[1] Hutchins.

[2] The aborigines, probably of the family of Shem, or at least some early Eastern colony, preserving much of their pristine civilization, were wont to erect peculiar round towers in lofty situations: King and Polwhele call attention to the striking similarity between the old castle at Launceston in Cornwall, and the citadel of Ecbatana, as described by Herodotus. They consider that this similarity of style in building, taken with other circumstances, bespeaks an Eastern origin for the first inhabitants of this country, to whom they and others consider the old castle at Launceston may fairly be attributed.

intrenchments though modernized by the club-men during the civil war in Charles 1st time, appear to have been of Roman construction.[1]

During the occupation of Britain by the Romans the town is said to have been one of their favorite stations. Here it is also reported was a temple to Pallas;[2] and some would have it, that hence the name "Caer Palladur;" but the name I believe existed before any such temple, if indeed there ever was one. The Temple however is not only said to have existed but to have been very magnificent, served by its several courses of priests, called Flamens under an Arch-flamen;[3] hence quaint old Fuller takes occasion to say, that he believes the whole story to be "flams and arch-flams, even notorious falsehoods."[4] Be this as it may the Romans certainly resided much in this town and neighbourhood. This is evident from the number of Roman coins found, from the Roman Intrenchments on Castle Hill, and from the causeway approaching the town from Sherborne, which may be conjectured to be of Roman origin. A few years since also in excavating for the foundation of the house in the High Street now occupied by Mr. White, Roman Architectural remains of the Doric order, as I am informed,[5] and seemingly of a building of considerable magnitude and importance were discovered.[6] Could this have been the Temple of Pallas? I ought perhaps before proceeding with the history of the town to give one or two other suggestions which have been made as to the origin of its name. It may, it is said, have arisen from the seeming shaft-like spur or promontory on which it is built; but viewed from the country round, the eminence on which the town stands rather seems to form the horn of a bow. It has also been suggested that the words "Palladur" may be read "Pal" or "Pel a dwr," i.e. "far from water." This however does not agree with the Saxon equivalent "Shaftesbury," and with respect to water, there are

[1] Hutchins. Hist. Dorset, Introduction, p. 12. [2] Hutchins.
[3] Geoffrey of Monmouth, [4] Book i., Cent. II., 9.
[5] By W. Batten, Esq., Agent to the Marquis of Westminster.
[6] Roman remains have also been discovered, as I think, among the foundations of the abbey church now in course of excavation.

several wells in the town which are said never to have failed. That there was a good supply of water we may infer from the fact that the Saxons, a prudent and warlike people, selected it for a permanent fortified position, which they would not have done if destitute of this necessary of life.[1] The real history of Shaftesbury commences with its restoration, and the foundation of its Abbey by Alfred the Great A.D. 880. During the Danish invasion it had, probably in common with almost every other town of any importance, been destroyed,[2] since it is clear that it had been a place of note from a much earlier period.

The spring of the year 879 found King Alfred a fugitive, concealed from his enemies, with a few trusty followers in the Isle of Athelney in Somersetshire. Encouraged[3] however by the defeat and death of the Danish Chief Hubba,[4] who was at this time completely routed and slain with upwards of twelve hundred of his followers, by the Earl of Devon, before the fortress of Kenwith, near the mouth of the River Torridge in North Devon,[5] he resolved to leave his retreat, and the Royal Standard was unfurled at Egbertstone to the east of Selwood Forest. To trace the march of Alfred from Athelney to the victory of Ethandun, which restored him to his throne, is not an easy task. The late Sir Richard C. Hoare, finding a place called "King's Settle" in the parish of Stourton, Wilts, with a tradition that Alfred halted there on his first day's march, built a tower to preserve the memory of that event. As local names and traditions carry with them a presumption of truth, the surmise of Sir R. C. Hoare, with respect to the halts of Alfred at this spot, is highly probable. The chief difficulties however remain. Asser says "Alfred encamped *one* night at Egbertstone." Most writers have considered this to be Brixton

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[1] The ancient wells are of very great depth, and it is of course very expensive to sink them; great thanks are therefore due to the Marquis of Westminster for the abundant supply of water now afforded, by means of the water works recently erected; this supply however is not procured from a distance, but from a well sunk on the spot and within the borough.

[2] Leland. [3] Henry of Huntingdon.

[4] Roger of Wendover. [5] Asser and others.

Deverill, but the Rev. W. H. Jones suggests with great probability that Brixton instead of being a contraction of Egbertstone, had its name from Brictone the great Saxon Landowner of those parts, and that *Kingston* Deverill is the ancient Egbertstone. These spots however are within two miles of each other. "With the dawn of the following day," continues Asser, Alfred "moved his camp and came to a place called Acglia, where he encamped one night, and the following morning moving hence, came to a place called Ethandun and there fought." On first reading this account, we might perhaps think, that Alfred moved from Egbertstone to Acglia in one day's march. In this we should be wrong. Asser does not in reality say how long the march from Egbertstone to Acglia took, only that Alfred encamped *one night* at each of these places, and removed on the following morning.

His object was to state where Alfred first raised the Royal Standard after leaving Athelney, and again where he passed the night before so eventful a battle as Ethandun. But Roger of Wendover distinctly states, that after encamping for the night at Egbertstone, Alfred "in the morning moved his camp and arrived after a march of *two days* at Ethandun." Simeon of Durham says, Alfred reached Ethandun "after the *third* day" "*post tertium diem,*" from the time of leaving Egbertstone, and Gaimar, that he did not come up with the enemy till noon.

Now if we consider Ethandun to have been Edington near Westbury, and Acglia either Clay Hill near Warminster, or Leigh near Westbury, we have only a distance of eight or nine miles between Egbertstone, (whether Brixton or Kingston Deverill,) and Acglia, and Alfred could not have occupied two days in marching at the furthest nine miles. If strong enough to have attacked the enemy, he would have done so at once, while they were shaken and disheartened by their recent defeat at Kenwith; if not strong enough, he would hardly have remained so near them for three days, neither would they have suffered him to do so unmolested, and by so doing, enable him to augment a weak force into a strong one for the very purpose of attacking them. It is moreover clear that Alfred left Egbertstone after camping there *one* night, and did not

arrive at Ethandun till "*after the third day*," "*two days*" of which were occupied in marching; where then did he go during this time? I have what appears to me a most probable suggestion to offer. On a high and commanding table land little more than a mile from this town, which has always borne the name of "King's Settle," tradition asserts that Alfred reviewed his army previous to the battle which restored him to his throne, and that from a remarkable elevation on this spot the heroic king addressed his troops. There is great historical probability in favour of this tradition. Alfred had been in retreat, and indeed concealment at Athelney with a very scanty following. The news of the unlooked for victory, gained by Oddune the Earl of Devon at Kenwith, encouraged him to emerge from his hiding place, and at once advance against the Danes with such a force as he might be able to gather around him on the march from Somerset, Wilts, Dorset and Hants. On reaching Egbertstone, he perhaps unexpectedly found himself within a few miles of the enemy, without as yet sufficient force for an immediate attack. What so likely as to make a retrograde movement to a strong position in the neighbourhood of the even then doubtless important town of Shaftesbury, where he might both hope, and conveniently wait further succours? The march from Egbertstone, Brixton, or Kingston Deverill, would be somewhere about eleven or twelve miles, that is, a short day's march. The next or second day would be spent in resting and recruiting his army, and probably in receiving the Hants contingents, instead of running the risk of their being cut off in detail by attempting to concentrate nearer the enemy. On the third day he finds himself strong enough at once to seek the foe, and marches either to Clay Hill near Warminster, which seems most probable, or to Leigh near Westbury; here he encamps "one night," and at noon "*post* tertium diem," that is, after "two day's march," and one day's rest at King's Settle, falls in with the Danes at Ethandun, i.e. Edington near Westbury in Wiltshire.

The white horse on Bratton Hill is said to have been cut to commemorate the victory there obtained. The suggestions which I have now offered contradict, I submit, no one historian, while

they are consistent with the narratives of all. With Asser I give "*one night*" at Egbertstone and one night at Acglia. With Roger of Wendover I give "two days march," one day's retrograde march from Egbertstone to King's Settle near Shaftesbury, and one day's forward march from King's Settle to Acglia, whether Clay Hill or Leigh. With Simeon of Durham I do not bring Alfred to Ethandun till "after the third day," affording a day's rest at King's Settle, so needful for various reasons; and having eight or nine miles to march from either Clay Hill or Leigh to Ethandun i.e. Edington, I do not with Gaimar bring him up with the enemy till noon. I believe these suggestions fairly tenable, and I claim for Kings' Settle near this our ancient town, the honour of having received, refreshed and augmented the army of Alfred before the victory which replaced him in the undisputed Sovereignty of England.

If these suggestions are not considered tenable, *then* the site of the battle of Ethandun must be removed from Edington near Westbury to some other spot far more distant from Egbertstone, and indeed from the county of Wilts altogether. Dr. Bleke and Mr. Lysons suggest Heddington in the parish of Hungerford in Berkshire. Others say,[1] Minchinhampton in Gloucestershire. Milner however would still keep the site in Wiltshire, placing it at Heddington near Devizes; while Whitaker suggests Yatton, near Chippenham. I consider my own suggestions most reasonable, most accordant with ancient history and with continuous local tradition and nomenclature: and that Edington near Westbury was the scene of the battle of Ethandun, and that Alfred retired from Egbertstone to this town for reinforcements before encountering and finally conquering the invaders. Need we wonder that one of the first acts of the grateful Monarch when reinstated in his kingdom, was to restore and rebuild this ancient and loyal city.

Shaftesbury was accordingly, we find, rebuilt by Alfred immediately A.D. 880. William of Malmesbury, writing in the twelfth century, says there was in his time, in the Chapter-house of the Nuns, a stone which had been brought thither from the ruins of a

[1] Brayley's Graphic Illustrator. Paper on Ethandun by J. M. M. (J. M. Moffatt?)

very ancient wall, with this inscription :—"In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, Alfred the King built this city, 880, of his reign the 8th." Camden says that he is the more particular in giving this because it is wanting in some copies of William of Malmesbury, but that he (Camden) had himself seen it in the copy belonging to the Lord Treasurer Burghley. There is a MS. copy of Malmesbury in the Bodleian Library ("Bodley MSS." 956) in which this passage is extant. The words of the inscription however are not placed quite in the same order as Camden gives them, but as follows :—"In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 880 Alfred the King built this city, of his reign the 8th;" but doubtless through an error of the transcriber it is written "980." And instead of "Anno Dominicæ," as given by Camden, it runs "Anno enim Dominicæ," as if there had been something more belonging to the inscription. John of Brompton writing about two hundred and fifty years later, says "Alfred repaired Shaftesbury, as a great stone testifies, which is walled into the Chapter House of the monastery, even unto this day; (usque hodie est insculptus.") Leland, who presented his work to King Henry VIII. A.D. 1545, says "There was an inscription on the right hand entering of the Chapter House set up by King Alfred in knowledge that he repaired Shaftesbury destroyed by the Danes." By the little circumstance of his mentioning that it was "on the right hand," we may conclude that he had himself seen it. He adds; "The Inscription of the remains of the which William of Malmesbury speaketh, stood in the wall of St. Mary's Chapel at the Town's end. This Chapel is now pulled down." This must have been the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, which stood at the south-west corner of Bim-port Street, at the end of the lane which divides the Borough from the Parish of St. John. Leland spent six years in travelling over the kingdom and visiting the religious houses to collect materials for his work. He might very likely have visited so important a Monastery as Shaftesbury twice, and on the first occasion have found the inscription still in the Chapter House as it was in Malmesbury's time, and afterwards removed to the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, which however very soon suffered the fate of the Abbey, and was destroyed. But

what became of this interesting relic? There is some reason to think that it was removed to the Magdalene Hospital, which stood to the West of St. Mary Magdalene (Maudlin) Lane, and very near the old Chapel of St. Mary. Over the doorway, I am informed, there was up to the time of its being pulled down 1848, an ancient oblong stone with an illegible inscription, surmounted by another stone of a somewhat triangular shape bearing on an ornamented shield a coat of Arms, and a motto on a scroll. *Part* of this latter stone with the Arms and motto, of course of comparatively modern date, is still in existence, but the inscribed stone which stood beneath is not to be found, and has most probably been destroyed. Might not this have been the identical stone of Alfred, so long preserved, which can be traced by contemporary testimony from the days of Malmesbury to the time of Leland, in the reign of Henry VIII.? The inscription might have become illegible from age and exposure for the last three hundred years, or if written in the Saxon character and language, it might have appeared illegible to persons not at all or but partially acquainted therewith. William of Malmesbury indeed gives the inscription in Latin; but this does not prove that it was so on the stone. He was writing his history in Latin and would very likely give the inscription in the language which he was himself using. But Alfred was a great adherent to the vernacular tongue; and the Saxon inscription to a similar effect on what appears to be the jewelled head of a sceptre[1] found at Athelney, affords a presumption that he would have employed the same language in the other case. Camden also gives an outline of the stone, copied either from Leland or Malmesbury, as an oblong stone placed horizontally, which was the shape of the inscribed stone over the Magdalene doorway. Alfred not only rebuilt the town, but at the same time, viz. A.D. 880, laid the foundation of its Abbey, which eventually became one of the richest and most distinguished in the kingdom. It was not completed till A.D. 888. No long period when we consider the probable magnitude of the work. From the first it was a fortified Abbey.[2] Its lofty towers are specially mentioned by early writers,

[1] Preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. [2] Dugdale.

some of whom would have the name of the town derived from them. We have no detailed account of the buildings of the Abbey as first erected. We know however from Eddius[1] a Saxon historian of the 8th century, that in his time his countrymen spared neither cost nor labour in their ecclesiastical buildings; and under so skilful and munificent a monarch as Alfred, a great encourager of architecture as indeed of all the Arts, great advance would doubtless be made. The learned Grimbald afterwards Abbot of Winchester, the greatest architect of that day, had arrived in England on Alfred's invitation, three years before the Abbey of Shaftesbury was completed, and no doubt gave this royal foundation a full share of his attention. In 888 the Abbey was duly consecrated to the service of Almighty God and the pious memory of St. Mary the Virgin. Shaftesbury was then in the Diocese of

[1] Eddius, c. 22 thus describes the church of Hexham, built about two hundred years before the abbey. I use Whitaker's translation. "The deepness of which in the ground—all with the rooms founded of stones admirably polished, but having above ground one room of many parts, supported on various columns and on many underground chapels, yet possessing a wonderful length and height of walls, and by various passages winding in lines, carried along spiral stairs sometimes up sometimes down." "Nor did I ever hear of any other house on this side of the Alpine mountains built equal with this." Richard the Prior of Hexham about 100 years after the Conquest gives an almost similar account of his church. He speaks of Wilfrid having "founded (it) below" (I again use Whitaker's translation), "with great labour in crypts and oratories subterraneous with winding passages to them." The walls he erected of immense length and height, supported on columns of squared, varied, well-polished stones, and divided into three stories. The walls themselves with the capitals by which the walls were supported, as also the covered ceiling of the sanctuary he decorated with histories and curious figures projecting in sculpture from the stone, with a grateful variety of pictures and a wonderful beauty of colours. He also surrounded the very body of the church with chapels lateral and subterraneous on every side, which with wonderful and inexplicable artifice, he separated by walls and spiral stairs above and below." "But in the very stairs and upon them, he caused to be made of stone, ways of ascent, places of landing, and a variety of windings, some up and some down, yet so artificially, that an innumerable multitude of men might be there, and stand all about the very body of the church, but not be visible to any that were below in it."—Such is the account given by contemporary historians of the Saxon Church of Hexham. Might not our abbey have been equally splendid? The massive groining of a *very* early date of a "Chapel lateral and subterraneous" now in course of excavation seems to argue as much.

Sherborne, to which See the learned and pious Asser the friend and instructor of Alfred's riper years had been appointed three years before,[1] who doubtless performed the Consecration Service. And since Alfred's own daughter the Lady Ethelgiva, was to be the first Abbess, and many noble maidens Nuns in her Convent, we may presume that the King himself and many a noble Earl and valiant Thane, would be present at the solemn ceremony. Asser, who certainly knew the town well, places the Abbey near the East gate. Roger of Wendover seems to follow Asser. Dr. Pauli however in his recent "Life of King Alfred," places the Abbey at the South gate. He apparently quotes from Dugdale. Hutchins says "in the time of Asser, Shaftesbury consisted of one street." I have not myself been able to find this statement in Asser. If correct, it must have been Bim-port Street, which extended very probably from the Bim-port or Gate, to St. Mary Magdalene Church, at the West end of the town. The Bim-port or Gate, was no doubt the *chief* entrance. A little to the South of the Bim-port, at the East end of what is now called Church Lane, there seems to have been another Gate, giving admission to the Abbey Church-yard and Grounds. This Gate having no special designation, might by one historian be called the Eastern Gate, as being to the East of the Abbey and Town; and by another, the South Gate, as being South of the chief entrance or Bim-port.

The most important part of the Town-wall at this early period seems to have run round from the bottom of Tout Hill, to the bottom of Gold Hill. The town properly so called, that is to say, the stone houses, were chiefly within the walls to the West; and outside the walls to the East "the Commons," more or less covered with the huts and cots of the peasantry. As the fame of the Abbey increased, the town extended beyond the walls, more especially on the East side. This must have been the case at a very early period as St. Peter's parish and the parishes of St. Martin's and St. Andrew, to the East of St. Peter's, as well as the parish of St. Laurence with the chapelry of St. Michael to the East of St. Trinity, and St. Mary Magdalene to the West, all now united to St. Trinity;

[1] Dodsworth's Cathedral of Sarum.

and the little parish of All Saints with the chapelry of St. Edward,[1] were included in the ancient borough and town of Shaftesbury. The parishes of Cann St. Rumbold on the East, St John's on the West, and St. James on the South-west, are not, and never were included in the borough. I speak of the municipal town and borough, and not of the recently formed Parliamentary district, which embraces parishes for several miles round.

The Abbey stood in the gardens between what is now called "The Park" and the Holy Trinity Church-yard, anciently called the Abbey Church-yard. We find in old records mention made of the Church of St. Trinity in the Abbey Church-yard.

The Abbey itself and its offices lay to the West of the Abbey Church. In these gardens ancient foundations of very solid construction, arches, stairs, carved stones with distinct traces of gilding and colouring, and encaustic pavements, as well as frequent memorials of ancient interment, are still to be found. Some of these tokens of the past grandeur and beauty of the Abbey, are now deposited at the Literary Institution in this town.[2] In the South porch of the Church of St. Trinity, is the defaced monumental effigy of an ecclesiastic, which some years since was removed from these gardens and built into a wayside wall on Toothill. It was rescued and placed in the Church by the care of a former Rector.

It does not appear that Alfred at first made any permanent provision for the Abbey. It was probably maintained by his royal bounty out of the portion of his income laid by for pious and charitable uses. Before his death however, he settled on it a permanent endowment of 100 hides of land—about 12,000 acres. Of these lands 4,800 acres were in the Donheads and Compton, 1800 in Fontmell, 1800 in Iwerne, 1200 in Tarrant, and 2,400 in Handley and Gussage.

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[1] The little parish of All Saints, with St. Edward's, is now united to the parish of St. James, which is, as I have said, itself without the borough.

[2] In anticipation of the visit of the Wilts Archæological Society, Wm. Batten, Esq., Agent for the Most Hon. the Marquis of Westminster to whom the ground now belongs, by his Lordship's permission, and indeed at his expense, made some investigations on the supposed site of the Abbey Church. A separate account of what has been discovered is given in an article following this paper.

A copy, both in Anglo-Saxon and Latin, of Alfred's Deed, is extant in the Register of Shaftesbury Abbey in the British Museum, MS., Harl. 61. In it is the following passage, "I, King Alfred, to the honour of God, and the holy Virgin, and All Saints, do give and grant, for the health of my soul, to the Church at Shaftesbury, 100 hides of land" (the deed then states where, as above) "with the men and appurtenances, as they now are, and my daughter Algiva with the same, she being at her own disposal and a nun in the same convent. Whosoever shall alienate these things, let him be" (equivalent perhaps to "he will be") "for ever accursed of God and the Virgin Mary and All Saints, Amen." The sisterhood, established at Shaftesbury, were of the Benedictine Order.

It was probably in this convent, that Edward the Elder A.D. 922 confined his niece Elfwina, daughter of his sister Ethelfleda and the Earl of Mercia. This princess had secretly accepted the addresses of the Danish king of Northumbria. Edward disguising his knowledge of the event and his anger at it, proposed to pay his niece a friendly visit at her Mercian castle, but seizing on her person, conveyed her a prisoner into Wessex,[1] and confined her in a nunnery. The name is not given, having been probably concealed in order that the Danish chief might not know where to seek her, but as Shaftesbury was a Royal foundation, and Ælgiva her aunt still Abbess, and as moreover it was a fortified Abbey, in the centre of the home kingdom of Wessex, we may conclude that it would be chosen as the abode of the captive princess.

Ælgiva the first Abbess, and daughter of Alfred, was buried in the Abbey Church. She probably died about 947, as Ælfrith her successor is mentioned in the following year. If so, she presided over the establishment for the long period of fifty-nine years, which is not impossible, as she could not have been more than nineteen, if so much, when the Abbey was consecrated. Edmund Ironside and his pious queen Ælgiva, were great patrons of the Abbey, to which they gave much land in Tisbury. The Queen was buried in the Abbey Church A.D. 971. King Athelstan was also a liberal patron

[1] Saxon Chronicle. Henry of Huntingdon.

of the town and Abbey of Shaftesbury: to the town he granted two mints, and probably gave or confirmed its borough privileges:[1] on the Abbey he bestowed many manors and estates, as did several of his successors.

The next event of importance connected with Shaftesbury, was the translation to the Abbey, of the bones of King Edward the Martyr. This amiable, but unfortunate youth, was treacherously murdered by his stepmother Elfrida at Corfe Castle, A.D. 978, to clear the way for her son Ethelred to the throne. His body having been cast into a well was discovered, and privately buried at Wareham. Three years afterwards Elfere, Earl of Mercia,[2] who had been Edward's opponent,[3] and was supposed to have been accessory to the murder, moved with remorse, resolved to translate the body to the royal Abbey of Shaftesbury, and inter it with kingly honours. Dunstan the archbishop[4] was present with Alfwold Bishop of Sherborne, Wulfrida Abbess of Wilton with her Nuns, and a large company of nobility and persons of all ranks. The body was brought in grand procession, and buried with great pomp, on the north side of the high altar of the Abbey Church.[5] Miraculous circumstances are said, by *later* writers, to have attended the finding and removal of the body, and cures of diseases to have been wrought at his tomb, "which brought" (says Roger of Wendover, writing about A.D. 1230, and therefore 250 years after the event) "multitudes[6] from all parts of the kingdom to the Martyr's tomb,

[1] The municipal privileges of the ancient Saxon boroughs probably had their origin in Roman times; the early possession of such privileges is an argument that Shaftesbury was a town of some importance, as already intimated, under the Romans.

[2] Henry of Huntingdon. [3] Will. of Malmesbury.

[4] Saxon Chronicle. [5] John of Brompton.

[6] A curious confirmation of the number of pilgrims frequenting the Abbey Church, is afforded by the fact of the pavement of the chancel and nave, being actually laid with a slope towards the West, undoubtedly to enable the water to run off, when the Church was cleaned after the visits of the pilgrims. The same kind of sloping pavement, and with a similar object, occurs in Chartres Cathedral and other places. See Gent. Mag., May, 1862, p. 556. The stone steps and door-sills leading from the chancel to the North aisle (S. Edward's Chapel?) are also greatly worn, and the patterns on the tiles, except those close to the walls, are worn away, evidently by the tread of many feet.

for all who laboured under any infirmity were healed." I find however no mention made of these miracles in the Saxon chronicle, which is probably a contemporary record. Such tales seem the exaggerations, if not the inventions, of a later age. The cures, attributed to the virtue of King Edward's bones, might perhaps more truly be ascribed to the medical skill and good nursing of the pious and gentle sisters. William of Malmesbury writing in the reign of King Stephen, about A.D. 1140, thus speaks of them. "At Shaftesbury.....there is a numerous choir of women dedicated to God.....enlightening those parts with the blaze of their religion. There reside sacred virgins, there continent widows, ignorant of a second flame,.....in all whose manners, graceful modesty is so blended with chastened elegance, that nothing can exceed it. Indeed it is matter of doubt which to applaud most, their assiduity in the service of God, or their affability in the converse of men." On the translation of the body of Edward the Martyr to the Abbey Church, his name was added to that of the blessed Virgin, and henceforth the church was known, as the church of S. Mary the Virgin and S. Edward the Martyr; and the town was often called "Burgus Sancti Edwardi," and "Edwardstow." The Saxon chronicle records the death of Herelufu, Abbess of Shaftesbury, A.D. 982. King Ethelred,[1] by charter dated 1001, gave to the church of S. Edward, the monastery and vill of Bradford, to be always subject to the Abbey of Shaftesbury, "that the nuns of Bradford might have a safe refuge against the Danes, and on the restoring of peace return to their former place."

King Canute died at Shaftesbury, November 12th 1035; his body was however removed to Winchester for burial.

I know of no other important mention of Shaftesbury till the Domesday Survey, in which reference is made to its condition in the reigns of Edward the Confessor and of William I, both probably periods of depression. The royal favour in which it had basked during the reigns of Alfred and some of his successors, had declined. Harold had robbed the Abbey of several of its possessions,

[1] Dugdale.

and no rumours of the miraculous virtue of the bones of St. Edward had probably yet been heard. In the Domesday Survey however, the borough was assessed at "2 marks of silver, for 20 hides of land." This I imagine proves it to have been a place of considerable importance. Salisbury, then a very important town, was assessed at 50 hides, but Dorchester only at 10, and Exeter and Bridport only at 5 each. Towns which had little or no arable land, paid geld in proportion to a certain number of hides, assessed according to their value and wealth; we may therefore, I think, conclude that Shaftesbury was at this period twice as rich and important a place as Dorchester, and four times as rich and important as Exeter or Bridport.

Besides the Abbey and its offices, which, I infer, were reckoned separately, there were in Edward the Confessor's time, 262 houses within the borough. I take it the cottages of the peasantry were not enumerated, but only the houses of the burghers. In the 20th year of William, or rather in the year the survey was actually taken, 85 of these houses had been destroyed or ruined. As signs of former greatness three moniers still remained paying "one mark of silver and twenty shillings to the King, on each new coinage."

The possessions of the Abbey were considerable. In confirming Kingston in Corfe to the Abbey, King William I. retained a hide of land, or rather 20 acres valued at one hide, on which stood the old Castle of Wareham, which he desired to hold and rebuild. He gave to the Abbey in exchange the Church and advowson of Gillingham and also restored the lands which Harold had seized in Mapperton, Stoke-Wake, Cheselbourne, Stour, and Piddle. Successive kings and others continued to enrich the Abbey with grants of manors, lands, tithes or advowsons. Henry I. granted Donhead Manor for providing the Nuns with vestments. King John gave two hides of land in Ferne, one in Ashgrove and one mill in Donhead, and one in Ludwell. Edward I. granted the Abbess a free warren in her manor of Donhead. We at length find the Abbey with possessions in the borough of Shaftesbury, and with the advowsons of all the livings within the borough, also with the advowsons of Cann S. Rumbold, of S. John and S. James juxta

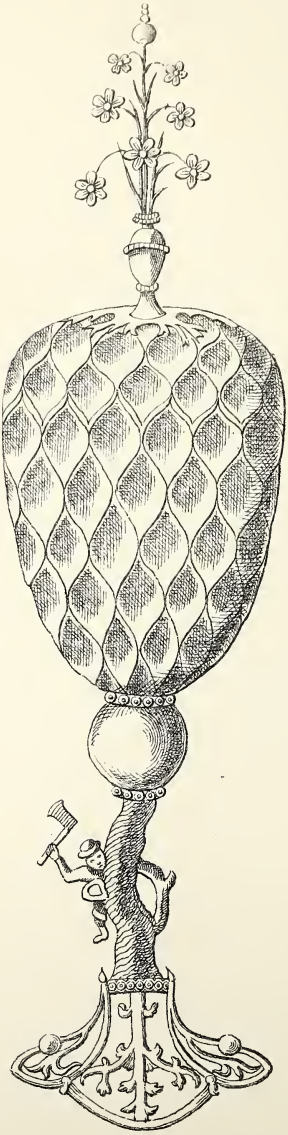
Shaston: and the advowsons and in some cases the manors of Iwerne, Hinton S. Mary, Henley, Gussage, Fontmell, Compton Abbas, Melbury Abbas, Fifehead Kingston, and others in Dorset. In Wiltshire the Abbey held advowsons, manors, or lands at Bradford, Fovant, Tisbury, the Donheads, Sedgehill, Berwick S. Leonard's, Kynell (Keevil) ad Edington, Salisbury and other places. In Somersetshire, Combe Porter, and lands at Bristol; other possessions are also mentioned in Hampshire and Essex. Indeed this list might be greatly extended, but enough has been said to show the large and wide possessions of the house. Fuller records an old saying that, "If the *Abbess of Shaftesbury* might wed the *Abbot of Glastonbury* their heir would have more land than the king of England." The Abbess was one of the four, who held of the king by an entire barony, the others being those of Barking, Wilton, and Winchester. The manor of Shaston was from ancient times divided into two moieties, one held by the King, the other by the lady Abbess. In 1302 Edward I. granted "the pleas and perquisites of court yet belonging to the crown in this vill, value £12, to Queen Margaret, in part dower." In the year 1313, the Abbey of Shaftesbury again became the prison of a captive princess. By a warrant dated at Windsor October 13th, 1313, directed to the sheriffs and bailiffs, &c., they are commanded to aid in conducting Elizabeth, wife of Robert Bruce (king of Scotland) from Carrick to Shaston. Another record dated February 12th, 1314, states that the king (Edward II.) allows twenty shillings a week for the maintenance of Robert Bruce's wife and her family while at Shaftesbury. The Bishop of Salisbury was visitor of the Abbey, instituted the Abbess, appointed her confessors, and exercised episcopal control over the house and its inmates. In 1326, Bishop Mortival certified that there was an excessive multitude of Nuns in the Abbey; and two years later declared the revenues equal only to the maintenance of one hundred and twenty Nuns, and ordered no more to be admitted. Bishop Wyvil, May 12th, 1368, granted a dispensation to the Abbess "to go out of the monastery to one of her manors to take the air and divert herself." The king on coming to the throne had a right to nominate a Nun; and the Bishop on

his consecration, a poor woman to the monastery, and in the latter case to appoint a Nun to instruct her in religion. The Abbey appears to have maintained to the last the high reputation it bore in the time of William of Malmesbury, but the good order of the house and the exemplary conduct and usefulness of the Nuns, were in this, as in other similar cases, of no avail for its preservation. The monastery was dissolved March 23rd, 1539, in the 30th year of King Henry VIII. Pensions were assigned out of the revenues to fifty-six Nuns, including the lady Abbess, Elizabeth Zouch, the Prioress and Sub-Prioress, amounting altogether to £431 per annum. The revenue at this time is rated by Dugdale at £1166 8s. 9d. per annum; and by Speed at £1329 1s. 3d. per annum. On the dissolution the work of destruction seems immediately to have commenced. Leland, who visited Shaftesbury about a year after, says "The Abbey stood by ——— of the town," which implies that it had been already demolished. A confirmation of the early destruction of the Abbeys, chantries, hospitals and other religious houses of this and other towns, and the decline and decay of these towns consequent thereon, is found in an Act of Parliament passed just afterwards 32 Henry VIII., c. 18, 19, "Whereas there hath been in times past many beautiful houses within the walls and liberties of" (58 cities and towns are here named and among them) "Shaston, which houses are now fallen down decayed, and at this time remain un-re-edified, as desolate and vacant grounds; many of them nigh adjoining to the high streets, replenished with much uncleanness and filth, with pits, cellars and vaults, lying open and uncovered to the great peril of the king's subjects; and other houses are in danger of falling: now if the owners of the waste grounds on which houses have stood within twenty-five years back, and of the decaying houses, do not in three years, &c., then the lords of whom the ground is held, may re-enter and seize the same, &c."

By an Act passed 26 Henry VIII. this town was made the seat of a suffragan Bishop. John Bradley S.T.B., Abbot of Milton, and William Pelles were presented to the King for his nomination. He nominated Bradley, who was consecrated under a commission issued by Archbishop Cranmer dated Feb. 23rd, 1558. This Act,

repealed in the reign of Mary, was re-enacted in that of Elizabeth, and is still in force. Now that an increase in the episcopate is undoubtedly needed, and the difficulties in the way of fresh legislation on this subject are so many, it would perhaps be wise for our rulers in church and state to act on the powers they already possess. Under this act 26 suffragan bishops could be at once appointed.

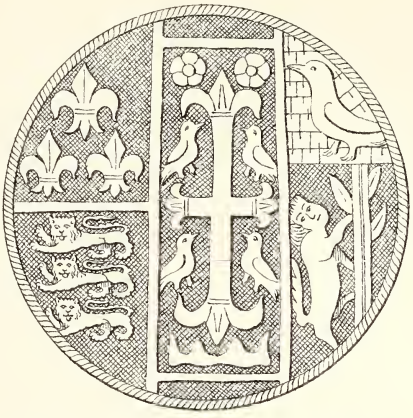
Shaftesbury, as already stated, is termed a borough in Domesday Book, and was so by prescription. Allusions are made to it as a borough 37 Henry III. and in Richard the II. Alan de Wyke was Mayor 7 Edward II. The first known charter of Incorporation however, was granted by Queen Elizabeth. James I. granted another, and Charles II. a third. This charter granted power within the borough limits to "hold pleas of all trespasses &c., and of all debts not exceeding £10,"—a court in fact for the recovery of small debts equivalent to our present county court. The borough possesses two maces, to be carried before the Mayor on all occasions of public solemnity. One of these, (see Plate), mentioned so early as 14 Edward 4th, has on the broad ends a shield of three compartments. In the first the Arms of France and England. In the second those of the Abbey, Azure, in chief 2 roses, a cross flory between four martlets Or. In the third, one of the Town coats, a Lion pawing against a tree on which a large bird is seated. The colours are not marked. The more modern mace is dated 1604 and has the arms and initials of James I. The Town seal is of the date of Elizabeth's charter 1570. It is of silver having on one end the Town coat above-mentioned, with the letters B.S. at the sides: and on the other end, quarterly, Argent and Azure, a cross quarterly counterchanged, in the 1st and 4th a fleur-de-lis of the 2nd; in the 2nd and 3rd a lion's or leopard's head of the 1st. The former seal was anciently used for warrants for the court of requests and small debts before-mentioned. The latter is still the official seal of the corporation. The Church plate consists of a chalice inscribed "This chalice belongeth to the holy Trinity of Shaston 1670." Another of older workmanship, chased with a plain Elizabethan pattern. A large paten with the inscription "Ex dono Thomæ Hockny 1714." A flagon and paten inscribed "The gift



Edw. Kite, anastat

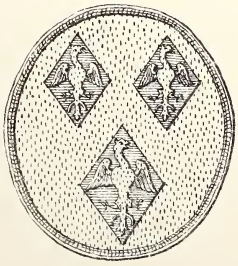
SILVER GILT VESSEL FOUND IN TRINITY CHURCHYARD, SHAFTESBURY.

(Height of original 17 inches)



Arms on one of the Borough Maces.

Borough Seals.



Arms of Humphrey Bishop: ob. 1709.
(From the Communion Plate of Trinity Church)

Edw. Kite, anastat.

SHAFTESBURY BOROUGH SEALS, &c

of Humphrey Bishop, Gent., to the Parish Church of the Holy Trinity Shaston," and a shield of arms, Or, on three lozenges Azure an eagle displayed of the first, two and one:—these are all of silver; and a large pewter flagon, inscribed, "Shaston St. Peter's 1770." Humphrey Bishop, named above, we find by his epitaph in St. Trinity Church, was a Barrister of an ancient loyal family. He died 1709, June 8th.

The Church registers go back to 1623. In the Church of St. Peter is a stone seemingly removed from the Abbey, in which a small Brass remains, with an inscription to Stephen Payne, Esq., Seneschal of this monastery, who died December 4th, 1508. There appear to have been two small shields of arms now gone. The South aisle of this Church is evidently an addition, and in fact an encroachment, built on columns over a court below; the intervals between the columns have since been walled in, and the space thus enclosed is now used as a cellar.

In 1611 Matthew Chubb founded an Almshouse for sixteen poor women.[1] In 1642, Sir Henry Spiller founded another for ten "of the most aged and impotent persons within the said borough of Shaftesbury." The motto over the door is, "Donum Dei et Deo."

It has been already observed, that there are few wells in the town, owing to the trouble and expense of sinking them to the great depth required. Water was generally obtained from certain wells about a quarter of a mile below the town, in the parish of Motcombe, belonging to the Manor of Gillingham. By agreement dated 1662, between the Lord of the Manor of Gillingham and the Mayor and Burgesses of Shaftesbury, the Mayor was to carry a Byzant, as it was called, a sort of besom, dressed like a May garland, to the wells and there present it, together with a calf's head, a gallon of ale, two penny loaves and a pair of gloves, to the Lord of the Manor, or his deputy. The Byzant was then restored to the Mayor and brought back to the town in procession with music, &c.

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[1] The Marquis of Westminster has recently augmented the endowment of this almshouse, by the very liberal gift of £5000.

It was sometimes, it is said, decked with jewelry, borrowed from the neighbouring families, to the value of £2000.[1]

In the civil war of the 17th century, Shaftesbury was occasionally the scene of minor conflicts. In 1644, Waller being beaten by the Royal forces at Blandford, returned through Shaftesbury into Wilts. In the same year 600 mercenaries, Swedes, Germans, French and Walloons, hired to aid rebellion, under the rebel leaders, Balfour and others, greatly oppressed the country in and about Shaftesbury, raising on the peaceful inhabitants 10s., 20s., and in some cases 60s. a day for their maintenance. Others were fined £300, and some £1000, and if the money was not presently paid they were plundered and made prisoners. All the fat cattle were taken from the neighbouring farms without payment, and the people injured and insulted in various ways. Such are the fruits of rebellion! In March 1645, Waller again quartered about this town and Gillingham, but "his quarters were beaten up by the loyal Lord Goring three times in less than a week and his numbers lessened near 1000 men." A party called Clubmen about this time declared themselves neutrals, and prepared to resist the passage of the troops of either the King or the rebels through this part of the country. A meeting of the leaders was held at Shaftesbury, but Fleetwood surrounded the town with 1000 men, and seizing fifty of them, carried them to Fairfax, then besieging Sherborne Castle. The Clubmen immediately assembled 10,000 men in arms at Shaftesbury, and posted themselves strongly, fortifying Castle Hill, to command the approach from Sherborne. Neutrals however in such a strife must needs be cowards, so when Cromwell marched against them with only 500 dragoons, followed by 500 more, they were easily persuaded to disperse. In 1672 Shaftesbury was chosen by Anthony Ashley Cooper as the title of the Earldom about to be bestowed upon him by Charles II., in whose family the title still continues. I must not however follow the history of Shaftesbury

[1] This custom has been discontinued since 1830 by consent of the Marquis of Westminster now Lord of the Manor of Gillingham, also the chief proprietor within the borough, and Lord of the manor of Shaftesbury, to save the borough the expense attending the presentation, about £30 on each occasion.

to more modern times. I will only add that the names of its Members of Parliament are extant, from 25 Edward I.; of its Mayors, from 7 Edward II., and of its Recorders, from 2 James I., and that in the roll may be found some worthy names not yet extinct among us.

The writer trusts that the shortness of the time, and the great pressure of engagements under which this paper has been prepared, and the domestic affliction which has befallen him during the time, and altogether prevented any due consideration or re-arrangement of materials, will be accepted as an apology for all inaccuracies and for any want of arrangement, perspicuity or completeness, with which it may be chargeable.

J. J. R.

In the first edition of Hutchins's Dorset, p. 13, l. xxxv., in the account given from John of Brompton, of one of the removals of the body of Edward the Martyr, there is an error in the date given, viz., 1101 for 1001. This error has been copied into Adams's History of Shaftesbury, and into the last edition of Hutchins. It will doubtless be rectified in the revised edition now in course of publication.

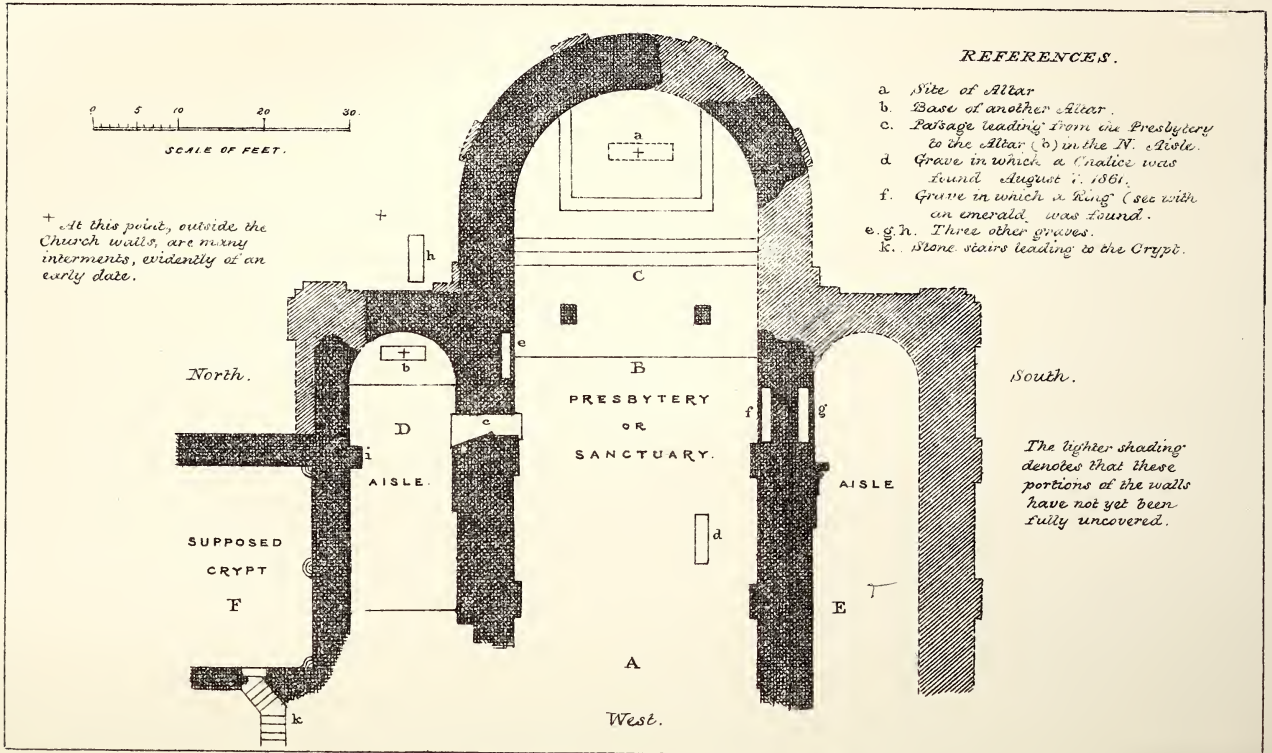
Recent Excavations on the site of Shaftesbury Abbey.

By Mr. Edward Kite.

SHAFTESBURY Abbey immediately after its dissolution in 1539, appears to have been levelled with the ground. Leland writing about 1540-42 has left no description of it,[1] and Dugdale, a century later, says that "not the smallest vestige of the conventual Church of Shaftesbury is now remaining." The visit of the Wiltshire Archæological Society to Shaftesbury during the past summer, has been the means of bringing once more to light, after an interment of more than three centuries, some portion of its foundations, which are of considerable interest, as proving not only the date of the eastern part of the Abbey Church, but giving also a fair idea of its proportions when entire. The discovery will be best understood by referring to the accompanying ground plan. In July, 1861, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Westminster, the present owner of the site, Mr. Batten, his Lordship's Agent, commenced excavations in a garden to the South of the present Church of the Holy Trinity, in which there were evident traces of foundations a few feet beneath the surface. The first pit that was sunk brought into view a wall more than 7 feet in thickness, with a pavement of encaustic tiles on its North side. Near the wall at the point marked (d) on the plan, was a grave 2 feet 3 inches deep, and covered with 4 slabs of green sandstone, part of the pavement of the Church. Two of the slabs, when fitted together, presented on the under surface a plain incised cross having its four limbs of nearly

[1] At p. 257 above, it is supposed that Leland may have seen part of the Chapter-House, but it seems very doubtful whether this was the case. The words in the Itinerary appear rather to signify that the Abbey was even then a thing past and gone. "The Abbey *stood*," &c. "*There was* an Inscription," &c.

GROUND PLAN OF THE EASTERN PORTION OF SHAFTESBURY ABBEY CHURCH EXCAVATED IN 1861.



Edwr. Kite, del & anastat.

GROUND PLAN OF THE EASTERN PORTION OF SHAFTESBURY ABBEY CHURCH, EXCAVATED IN 1861-2.

equal length. The sides of the grave were constructed of regular masonry, plastered over, but there was no stone floor. On removing the rubbish a perfect skeleton of a male was discovered, together with the nails and other traces of the wooden coffin in which it had been enclosed. The skull was in a very perfect state; the right arm was bent, and the closed hand lay over the abdomen, whilst the left was extended and placed close to the side. Over the right shoulder was found the stem of a pewter chalice (very much corroded) together with numerous small fragments of the bowl and foot. Two circular bronze buckles, each 2 inches in diameter, lay, one immediately below the pelvis, and the other underneath the left hand, the latter having attached to it a small fragment apparently of leather, but wholly decomposed. There were no traces of vestments, but the chalice proves the remains to have been those of an ecclesiastic,[1] most likely, some priest connected with the service of the Abbey Church.[2] The buckles may have been the fastenings of a leathern girdle worn round the waist above the albe or under vestment.

Since this first discovery, the excavations have been continued, and the foundations of about 60 feet of the eastern portion of the Abbey Church have been exposed, being probably, those of the Presbytery or Sanctuary to the East of the choir. It seems to have terminated in a semicircular apse, a form by no means unusual

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[1] The custom of depositing a chalice and paten with the corpse of a priest appears to have been very general; and, although no established regulation may be found which prescribes it, it is in accordance with ancient evidences cited by Martene in his treatise on Rites observed at the Obsequies of Ecclesiastics. Occasionally not only the sacred vessels, but a portion of the Eucharist was placed upon the breast of the deceased; a very ancient practice, although forbidden by several Councils. An old writer on ritual observances, cited by Martene, states that it was customary to place over the head of the corpse a *sigillum* of wax, fashioned in the form of a cross: that the bodies of persons who had received Holy Orders ought to be interred in the vestments worn by them at Ordination; and that *on the breast of a priest ought to be placed a chalice, which, in default of such sacred vessel of pewter, should be of earthenware.* (See Archæological Journal, No. x., p. 136.)

[2] In the porch of the Church of Holy Trinity is a monumental slab, bearing the recumbent effigy of a priest. This came from the site of the Abbey.

in large churches of early Norman date.[1] In this instance it is likely that the gradual increase in the importance of the Abbey, and the popularity which it had acquired by the translation thither of the body of St. Edward the Martyr, in 982, demanded a larger Church than the one which had been erected by King Alfred.

All the walls hitherto discovered are at least 7 feet in thickness, and the width of the Presbytery from the apse westward is 28 feet, a measurement nearly equal to the corresponding portion of the Abbey Church of St. Alban (also erected during the Norman period) and indicating a church not less than 350 or 400 feet in length from East to West. The tower (said to have been surmounted by a lofty spire) was in all probability central, as at St. Alban's, and there is also another point of resemblance between the ancient Norman plan of St. Alban's as engraved by Messrs. Buckler,[2] and that of Shaftesbury so far as the examination hitherto permits. Each terminated in a semicircular apse, which was divided by a solid wall from the aisle on either side. The floor of the Presbytery is paved throughout with encaustic tiles of various patterns, but very much worn, and rises gradually eastward, by a gentle slope from (A) to (B); at which point is a single step. There were apparently three others at the entrance to the apse (C), and still further eastward were distinct traces of several more on which the Altar anciently stood. In a straight line and at a distance of nearly 40 feet westward from the point A, the ground was opened, and a continuation of the tile paving found at an additional depth of 17 inches, thus showing the height of the pavement of the apse, and the elevation of the Altar above the level of the western portion of the Church, which yet remains to be uncovered.

The grave (e) formed of large stones, built in the solid wall,[3] was

[1] As in the Cathedrals of Norwich and Peterborough. In several instances traces of the ancient semicircular apse may still be found, although the superstructure has been altered, or rebuilt, at a later period; as at Gloucester, Canterbury, and Winchester, where the crypts still retain the semicircular form.

[2] History of the Architecture of the Abbey Church of St. Alban, 1847, p. 9.

[3] The situation of this grave, *on the North side of the High Altar*, is probably not far from the spot in which the body of St. Edward the Martyr is said to have been interred.

opened May 2nd, 1862. It was found to have been previously rifled, and the sculptured slab or effigy which once covered it had been removed. Among the rubbish within was an ancient iron lock, with a hasp, much corroded, a handle, and some iron straps containing short rivets, apparently the remains of a small box or casket; also one of the metatarsal bones of a human foot.

The graves (f) and (g) had also been previously rifled, but among the rubbish removed from the former was found a gold hoop ring, of delicate workmanship, set with an unwrought emerald.[1] The remaining grave (h) which lies immediately outside the North wall of the apse was also opened and found to contain a perfect skeleton, but without any accompanying relic.

The aisle (D) on the North side of the main building is nearly 12 feet in width, and from the remaining base of an Altar to the East end, it evidently was used as a Chapel. A narrow passage cut through the solid wall (c) formed a connection between this and the Presbytery, and the stone step at the entrance, deeply worn on either side, plainly indicates the continual use to which it must have been subjected. The floor is paved with encaustic tiles principally heraldic, and apparently of the decorated period (14th century). They are laid in squares, each formed of 4 tiles bearing similar shields of arms, surrounded by a border of narrow tiles of a green colour. The step in front of the Altar seems also to have been paved with small plain tiles of a like description. The accompanying sketch shows the arrangement of the shields of arms, amongst which are those of the family of Clare, Earls of Gloucester,[2] frequently found in large churches both in Wiltshire and the neighbouring counties: also those of Montacute, Earls of Sarum, Vere? and others not identified. The projecting masonry (i) bears

[1] A very similar relic from the site of Mynchin Buckland Priory, co. Somerset, set with an unwrought sapphire, is engraved in the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, vol. x., p. 57.

[2] Richard de Clare temp. Henry III. held the manor and hundred of Cranborn, together with the right of hunting in Cranborn Chace, a privilege which had been obtained by one of his ancestors. A complaint was made against him by the Abbesses of Wilton, Shaftesbury, and Tarent, concerning his interference

the semicircular base of a Norman pier, from which perhaps sprung the rib of a groined roof.

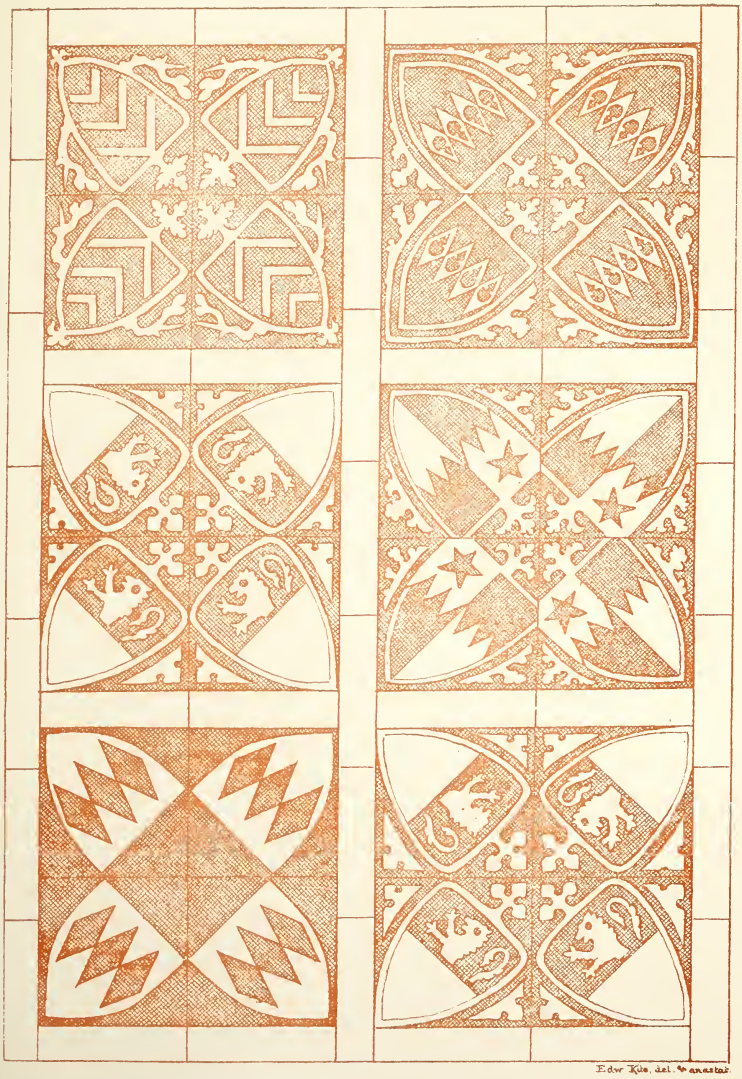
On the South side of the Presbytery was probably a similar aisle as shown by a portion of another tile pavement at the point (E) but this together with the whole of the western portion of the Church, including choir, nave, aisles, and transepts, yet remains to be uncovered.

The chamber (F) is of a later date than the parts of the church above described, and appears to have been used as a crypt. It is 24 feet from East to West, and has the remains of a massive groined roof, of early pointed character, springing from corbels projecting from the walls about 4 feet above the level of the floor. The height of the chamber to the crown of the vaulting (now broken in) was nearly 9 feet. The floor exhibits no traces of paving of any kind, and is 6 feet below the level of that in the adjoining aisle of the church, the communication between the two being a narrow stone staircase leading to a small doorway in the West wall of the crypt. In clearing out the rubbish a quantity of human bones[1] were found near the level of the floor, together with some

with the management of their woods at Fernditch and Chettell, and an agreement made between the Earl and the Abbess of Shaftesbury concerning her woods at Fontmell, Iwerne, and Handley. co. Dorset.

Gilbert de Clare, son of Richard, and the last male heir of the family, died in 1313. The arms on the tiles at Shaftesbury, doubtless denote a benefaction to the Abbey from some member of the Clare family.

[1] Among the skulls found during the excavations there was one (apparently of an adult male) with a remarkable perforation on the upper part and left side of the frontal bone. The rotundity of the aperture is remarkably clean as if caused by a pistol ball, or the rounded point of an extremely sharp arrow. Whatever the projectile was, it must have gone directly through the brain, and foramen magnum, to the spiral marrow, there being no corresponding fracture at the base of the skull. The wound must therefore have been caused by some missile, either shot from a height, or received whilst in a stooping posture. There is also a portion of another skull with a somewhat similar aperture, on the upper part of the right parietal bone, but in this instance the edges are more jagged. To Henry Bennett, Esq., F.R.C.S., of St. John's Hill, Shaftesbury, who has taken much interest in the excavations, and by whom the various bones discovered during the progress of the work, have been carefully examined, the writer is indebted for this, as well as for other similar information. A remarkably fine specimen of a portion of the skull of a horse was also found among the rubbish near the floor of the crypt.



TILE PAVING ON THE SITE OF SHAFTESBURY ABBEY CHURCH.

architectural fragments,[1] evidently thrown in at the time of the destruction of the church, immediately after the Dissolution.

In the course of the excavations some remains of stained glass, and a mass of architectural fragments have been discovered. Among the latter may be recognized some mouldings of the Norman period, the Decorated ball flower (14th century), and an abundance of Perpendicular remains (15th century), as crockets, finials, and other enrichments, either from screen-work or canopied tombs; many of them bearing distinct traces of colour. A portion of a monumental effigy of Purbeck marble in low relief, was also discovered, exhibiting, above the robes, some traces of the stem of a pastoral staff.

In concluding these remarks it is scarcely necessary to add that the warmest thanks of the Wiltshire Archæological Society, are especially due to the Marquis of Westminster, as well as to Mr. Batten, for the opportunity thus far afforded of investigating, by excavations carefully conducted at his Lordship's expense and under his immediate eye, the interesting remains of this celebrated Benedictine Nunnery.

Devizes, June, 1862. E. K.

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[1] There were several portions of an arcade of Norman semicircular arches about 18 inches in height, carved in Purbeck marble. Another fragment, of perpendicular date, apparently from a tomb, exhibits a branch of a tree round which is a scroll bearing the words "aīa dñi" in black letter, evidently part of an inscription desiring a prayer for the soul of some individual interred in the Abbey Church. The title of "dominus" may perhaps denote a priest.

The Wiltshire Possessions of the Abbess of Shaftesbury.

By the Rev. W. H. Jones, M.A., F.S.A.

FEW, except those who have paid especial attention to the subject, are at all aware of the large amount of landed property in Wiltshire, which, in the middle ages, belonged to religious houses. At the time of the Domesday survey, no less than 1930 hides, an assessment representing in the whole probably some 250,000 acres, or nearly two-fifths of the county, were more or less under the control of ecclesiastical persons. The largest territorial possessions were those of the Abbot of Malmesbury; then came those of the Abbot of Glastonbury—of the Prior of St. Swithin, Winchester—and of the Abbess of Wilton. Next among landed proprietors followed the Abbess of Shaftesbury, whose abbey, situated at the very border of Wilts and Dorset, had, not inappropriately, a tolerably equal extent of property in each county. As years passed on, these possessions, large as they were at the time of Domesday, were increased by gifts from various benefactors, it being a custom, with regard at least to Shaftesbury, that when any person of substance devoted a daughter or kinswoman[1] to the office of a nun, she should bring 'a portion' with her, the proceeds of which afterwards formed part of the general revenues of the abbey. Hence, at the beginning of the reign of Edward III. (A.D. 1326), out of the 39 hundreds into which the county was then divided, the lordship of no less than *fourteen*, amongst which were some of the most extensive, was vested in some bishop, or the head of some

[1] In this manner the 'chapel' and tithes of 'Broctune' (Broughton Gifford) became the property of the Abbess of Shaftesbury. In the Harl. MS. 61, fol. 54, we have a list of lands so acquired under the heading,—'Terras quas cum filiabus homines dederunt, &c.' Amongst them are lands, &c., at Broughton, and Keevil, given respectively by Gundreda, and Ernulfus de Hesding, in either case, at the dedication of a kinswoman as a nun;—('*cum quadam sua cognata moniali.*')

religious house. To this day, the scattered hundreds of Damerham—Downton—Elstub and Everley—are a memorial of the jurisdiction exercised over the several manors comprised in them by their respective lords—the Abbots of Glastonbury—the Bishops of Winchester—and the Priors of St. Swithin, Winchester.

Our concern is with the 'Wiltshire possessions of the Abbess of Shaftesbury.' These were neither few nor unimportant. In Domesday Book[1] they are thus enumerated :—Bichenstock (Beechingstoke)—Tisseberie—Duneheve (Donhead)—Bradeford, with Alvestone—Ledentone (Liddington)—Domnitone (Dinton). To which we have to add—Berwick St. Leonard's—Sedghill—and Keevil.

To attempt an account of each of these parishes is out of the question. Of 'Bradford'[2] so much has already been said in the pages of our Magazine, that it must waive its claim to any notice in the present instance. Beechingstoke and Liddington, moreover, are at such a distance from our place of meeting, that, as a choice must be made, it will be better to omit them, and give a description of those places which are more or less in this immediate neighbourhood. The sole exception will be in the case of Keevil, and that for reasons which, in due course, will be explained.

To give a more connected, and perhaps less wearisome form to my narrative, I will ask you in imagination to accompany me in 'a progress' through these various manors. When we arrive at any of the possessions of the Lady Abbess, I will endeavour to explain to you how they came into the hands of her society, and will add a few notes on the various churches, the principal estates, and the chief families who have been owners of them, from time to time, up to the present century. We shall dwell, as far as may be, on matters that have not been spoken of in Sir R. C. Hoare's work, but which have been gleaned from original records, more particularly from the chartularies of Shaftesbury and Edington, preserved among the Harleian, and Lansdowne manuscripts, in the British Museum.

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[1] Wyndham's 'Domesday for Wiltshire,' pp. 145—154.
[2] Wiltshire Archæol. Mag., vol. v.

Donhead St. Andrew.

Starting, then, from the 'Town of St. Edward,' as this place (Shaftesbury) was usually called, the first estate belonging to the Abbess that we shall visit will be Donhead. On our way, we pass by Charlton, originally *ceórla-tún*, that is, 'the village of peasants,' a name not unknown in other parts of Wilts, and here at least appropriate, down to the middle of the last century, for not till then was any house of a superior kind built in it. From time immemorial this chapelry has formed part of the Rectory of Donhead St. Mary. It is named as such in the 'Liber Regis,' and, in 1638, was represented as being without endowment.

The ancient chapel, which was a small and plain structure, some 54 feet in length, and 20 in breadth, and consisted simply of a chancel, nave, and south porch, was pulled down about 22 years ago, and a new chapel erected on a site distant half-a-mile from the old one, with a view to the more general convenience of the inhabitants of the various hamlets of Combe, Ludwell, and Charlton, which constitute the chapelry. The original site is preserved from common uses by being walled round and planted with larch and fir, and the adjoining meadow by its name 'Chapel Mead' preserves the memory of the ancient sanctuary.

A singular custom prevailed in Charlton, even to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Each inhabitant or householder was accustomed to provide bread and wine for the Holy Communion, and to bring the same "in several parcels and in divers pots, bottles, or glasses to the Table of the Lord." Of this, a sufficient portion was consecrated for the purpose of the Holy Sacrament, and the rest reserved for the use of the curate. It was not until 1638 that this usage was discontinued. A formal agreement was then drawn up under the episcopal seal of Bishop Davenant, by which the inhabitants of Donhead St. Mary "condescend and agree out of zeal to God's service, and out of love and hearty affection to their loving neighbours at Charlton, Combe, and Ludwell, that the bread and wine for the Holy Communion at the Chapel of Charlton shall be provided at the charge of the whole parish." The

document,[1] printed in Sir R. C. Hoare's work, is of considerable length, partly in Latin and partly in English, and is addressed to all 'the sons of our Holy Mother the Church.' Provision is made that one copy of it should be kept in the Registry at Salisbury, and another in the church chest at Charlton. The latter copy, like too many similar documents entrusted to the tender mercies of the churchwardens of the eighteenth century, is now missing.

After leaving Charlton we soon reach NETHER or LOWER DONHEAD, or, as it is commonly termed, Donhead St. Andrew. This parish, together with that of Upper, or Over, Donhead (Donhead St. Mary), probably originally constituted but *one* manor; at all events, they were so held when the lordship became vested in the Lords Arundel, of Wardour. I cannot help thinking that Donhead must be the place alluded to under the name of '*Duningland*' in a charter of Ethelbert of Wessex (A.D. 860), by which he grants an estate there to his 'beloved and venerable minister Osmund' (*dilecto et venerabili ministro Osmundo*). It is included among the deeds in the Shaftesbury chartulary,[2] and though it recites only the gift to Osmund, is headed as given '*Deo et Ecclesiæ.*' The Saxon in which the boundaries are given is miserably corrupt; indeed the manuscript itself is a transcript of as late a date as possibly the reign of Henry V. The mention however among the land-limits, of *Sumleáh* evidently 'Semley,' and *Hrycgleáh* probably 'Ridge Leigh,' coupled with the fact that the river '*Noddre*' (Nodder) is also named as bounding a part of it, sufficiently identify the land in question as being in the neighbourhood. At all events the way in which the former part of the word is spelt in all old documents, '*Dún*' or '*Dúne*,' leaves no doubt of its derivation from the Anglo-Saxon '*Dún*,' a down, or hill, as we speak of 'the Downs,' the 'South Downs,' &c. It is the same word which enters into the composition of *Dun*-worth and *Down*-ton.[3]

[1] Hundred of Dunworth, p. 57. [2] Kemble's Cod. Diplom., No. 283.

[3] The author of the 'Hundred of Dunworth,' in "Hoare's Modern Wilts" suggests that the river 'Noddre' may also have been called the 'Don'; and that, as several springs which supply that river rise in Wincombe, a manor within Donhead St. Mary, this circumstance may have suggested the name *Donhead*, that is, the source of the Don. There does not seem to be any foundation for the hypothesis on which this opinion is based.

There are several charters in which the gifts of land, &c., at *Dunheved* to the Abbey of Shaftesbury are recited. First in order comes a document, which, from its heading,—'Testamentum Regis Ælfredi,'—purports to be the will of King Alfred, in which 40 hides at *Dunhevede* and *Cumtune* are granted to her. All that is meant by the expression *may* be that it is a copy or recital of the 'deed of gift' by Alfred of those estates to the abbey, because the estate is not mentioned in the document known as King Alfred's will, and in the Testa de Nevill [1] it is stated that the manor of Dunheved was the gift of King Edgar. Moreover, the '80 mansæ' bestowed on the abbess, in 956, by King Edwy,[2] are said to have comprised, amongst other lands, some at Dunheved, and Estone (now Easton Basset), in the parish of Donhead St. Andrew. At all events, in the beginning of the 12th century, King Henry I., by a separate charter,[3] granted, or perhaps I should say, confirmed to the Abbess the manor of Dunheved, to which he added the profits of the Hundred of Dunworth, for 'the clothing of the nuns' (*ad vestimenta monialium,*) with the view of securing their prayers "for the health of his soul, and that of his wife Matilda." In 1205, King John confirmed these grants by his predecessors of lands in Ferne, and Essegrove (Ashgrove), and of mills and land in Dunheved and Lodewell (Ludwell).

The Manor-house in which, in olden times, the Lady's Seneschal or Steward, would hold his court, is still sufficiently indicated by its name Berry-Court. This is a house built on rising ground, situated at the point where the two parishes meet, one half being in Donhead St. Mary, and the other in Donhead St. Andrew. The notices concerning Donhead in the chartulary are very brief and consist merely of the names of some four free-tenants, and the account of the annual quit-rent which they paid to the Abbess. Five hides, representing an acreage, including every thing, of some 600 acres, are described as '*Tain-land,*'—land, that is, held by free tenants, or by inheritance, and not subject to the services due from the customary, or other tenants of the abbey.

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[1] Testa de Nevill, p. 155b. [2] Kemble's Cod. Diplom., No. 447.
[3] Harl. MS., 61, fol. 23. Printed in the New Monasticon, II., 482.

The church of Donhead St. Andrew, or Lower Donhead, was restored a few years ago, and then several of the older features, which would have had some interest for archæologists, were obliterated. We look in vain now, for what is described, in Hoare's Modern Wilts, as the result of a survey nearly thirty years ago,—'a large pointed arch opening from the chancel to the chantry on the north side of it, and a low arched recess under the chantry window, apparently over a monument or stone coffin.' The vestry now occupies the greater part of the site of the chantry chapel. Neither can we see the niche described as 'over the porch and which probably contained the figure of St. Andrew.' Two relics, however, are left. At the top of the tracery in the east window may still be seen a piece of old stained glass, containing the arms of the Abbey of St. Edward, viz.,—'Azure, a cross fleury between four martlets Or,' a shield evidently adopted with a slight alteration by the Abbey from Edward the Confessor, the original arms of the Abbey having been, according to Tanner,—'Argent, on a pale cotized sable, three roses of the first.'[1] The other relic of the olden times is to be seen at the north-western extremity of the church. One of the pillars has a shield on its capital rudely carved with emblems of the Passion, and beneath is a shaft terminating with a head of our blessed Lord.

Judging from the pillars and arches which divide the body of the church from the two side aisles, one would conjecture that portion of the work to be about the date of 1350. The capitals are four-sided, and very similar to some that will be found in the other Donhead. Some small arches on either side, at the east end of the nave, are well contrived, and show some architectural taste and skill. Now, as a chantry in honour of the Blessed Virgin was founded here as early as 1327, according to the registry of Bishop Mortival, and as the Historian of the 'Hundred of Dunworth' says that in 1837 an exact similarity of style marked the building of the Church and Chantry Chapel—it will not be too hazardous a conjecture,

[1] A seal bearing this coat was engraved by Vertue some years ago for the Society of Antiquaries.

perhaps, that the foundation of the chantry was taken as the opportunity for rebuilding the original church.

Of its tythings, 'FERNE' is the only one, in Donhead St. Andrew, that has any interest for us. Like 'Sedge-hill,' and 'Brem-hill,'—a corruption of *Bremble* (as it is spelt in maps of the 17th century), the modern form of the Anglo-Saxon '*bremele*'—and 'Bramshaw,' an abbreviation of '*bremele-scaga*, i.e. 'bramble-wood,'—and very many others that might be mentioned, Ferne clearly derives its name from the natural production that most prevailed there. In a confirmation charter of King Henry I., Ferne is named as having been for at least a century previously among the possessions of the Abbess. In the time of Edward I., it was held by Walter de Ferne. The estate passed through various families to the Brockways (the name still exists in the neighbourhood), and by one of them it was sold in 1563, to William Grove, of Gray's Inn. The 'Grove' family, who still retain the estate, came originally from Chalfont St. Giles, in Bucks, and settled in Wilts about the time of Henry VI. The purchaser of Ferne was M.P. for Shaftesbury in the time of Philip and Mary. From his elder son, descend the 'Groves' of Ferne; from his younger, those of Zeals House. Several members of the family have represented Shaftesbury in Parliament; and, towards the close of the 17th century, Robert Grove, who had been Archdeacon of Middlesex, was consecrated Bishop of Chichester.

DONHEAD ST. ANDREW.

The Church of Donhead St. Mary, or Upper Donhead, is deserving of especial notice. Here you have abundant evidences of great antiquity, and you can form a very fair judgment of the probable date of the various portions of the building. The church consists of a chancel, nave, two side-aisles, a south porch, a western tower, and two chapels, one on either side of the chancel, with an entrance in each case from the aisle, of which, in fact, they form a continuation. Were it not that one well able to judge has pronounced the wall and arches at either side of the chancel-arch to be *twelfth* century work (c. A.D. 1150), I own I should have been rather sceptical on

the subject, because such an opinion implies the existence of a previous church on the same site, differing both in size and ground-plan from what we should have expected. Of the dates of the other portions of the structure there can be but little doubt; the piers on the south side of the nave would be about the date of A.D. 1220; those on the north side, some 30 or 40 years later, or about 1260. The tower, arch, and side chapels, together with the porch, would appear to have been added in the middle of the following century, or about A.D. 1350. The present tower and chancel, together with the aisles, were built probably about A.D. 1500, since which time there does not seem to have been any material alteration in the fabric.

In the ancient font belonging to this church you have a relic of great interest. Certainly as early as the 12th, possibly the 11th century, it has been preserved without injury through all the successive changes that the structure of the church has undergone. It is made of stone, circular in form, and of rude workmanship;—the exterior is decorated with simple ornaments, consisting of little more than a series of round pillars, with semicircular arches. Possibly some twenty-four generations, from father to son, may have been baptized in that same massive font. It seems to have been a custom to refuse interment in the churchyard to those who had not received Christian Baptism. The very first entry in the oldest remaining parish register is of the date of 1678, and records the burial of 'a stranger in Chilvercombe Bottom.' This is a lonely hollow on the downs, which, even till as late a period as 1746, was used literally as a 'field to bury strangers in.'

One word may be said concerning the present Altar Table. The top is moveable, and underneath it is an arrangement like that of a 'telescope table,' by which it may be drawn out, and increased to nearly three times its apparent size. At the time of celebration of Holy Communion, the table was brought into the body of the church, standing east and west, and the communicants ranged themselves round it. No doubt it was constructed in compliance with the Ordinances of 1643, which, amongst other things, enjoined 'that all Altars and Tables of stone should be taken down and demolished,

and that all Communion-tables should be removed from the east end of every Church and Chancel.'

Of the estates comprised within Donhead St. Mary, Bell-knapp, now called Donhead Hall, derives some interest from its having belonged to the Kneller family, to whom it came by intermarriage with the Weeks family. The present Mansion-house was built by Godfrey Huckle, who assumed the name of Kneller, and was, through his mother, a grandson of the great painter, Sir Godfrey Kneller. Donhead Hall was sold, in 1825, to Mr. Wyndham, by the grandson of its original builder.

There is also another building in the Manor of Combe, within this parish, that merits a passing notice. An old farm house near the spring is called 'The Priory,' not because it was ever the mansion-house of any religious society, but in consequence of a Prior and four or five Monks of the Carthusian order seeking refuge there, at the time of the first French Revolution, from the ruin that threatened them in their own country. One of this number, Anthelm Guillemot, described as of the convent of Bourbon, in Normandy, died here, at the advanced age of 84 years. A plain slab in the parish church, with a simple inscription, marks the exile's last earthly resting-place.

Tisbury.

We travel on now to one of the most extensive and valuable of the possessions of the Abbess. On our road we shall be at no great distance from Ansty, the church of which village is described as being one of the oldest in the county, and formerly part of the possessions of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. In the neighbourhood of Tisbury are many remains of our British and Saxon forefathers. Traces of villages, earthworks, and 'tumuli,' are still to be seen; though within the last 30 years, the plough has obliterated many such traces as were very perceptible when Sir R. C. Hoare published his "Ancient Wiltshire." 'Castle Ditches,' a large encampment consisting of a treble ditch and ramparts ranged in the form of an irregular triangle, and comprising within its area some 23 acres, is but a short distance, on the south-east, from

Tisbury. Sir R. C. Hoare tells us that amongst the MS. memoranda of his fellow-labourer, Mr. Cunnington, of Heytesbury, he found the following note:—"In a field near Place Farm, (in this parish), was a circular work, with a vallum set round with stones, and a large stone placed erect in the centre. On removing this stone, which was *twelve* feet high, *four* feet wide, by Lord Arundel's order, to the old castle at Wardour, a skeleton was found at the depth of *eighteen* inches under the surface, deposited close to the central stone." The historian of the 'Hundred of Dunworth,' speaks of a field bearing the name of 'Lost Stone' field, close to Place Farm.

Bearing these facts in mind,—and if you refer to the map of this portion of the county in 'Hoare's Ancient Wilts,' you will be surprised at observing the many proofs of ancient occupation or interment there noted,—you will not perhaps deem it too venturesome to suggest that possibly in the name Tis-bury we may have a memorial of Saxon heathendom. The name of 'Woden,' the Saxon idol, is perpetuated in 'Wans-dyke' (originally Wódnes-dic), in 'Wanborough' (formerly Wódnes-beorh), and in 'Wednesbury' now pronounced as though written 'Wedgebury.' In like manner, (it may be,) the name of 'Tiw,' another Saxon idol, from whom our third day of the week, Tuesday, *i.e.* Tiwæs-dæg, derives its name, is to be found in *Tis*-bury. So in a charter of Cnut (A.D. 1023), amongst the boundaries of an estate at Hannington (Hanitúne), in Hants, we have 'Tis-léah,' which, if the place could be identified, would probably be 'Tisley.'[1] In other charters, one of which relates to Wilts, we have mention of 'Teówes thorn,'[2] and 'Tiwes mere,' *i.e.* the *mere* or lake of Tiw.

There is reason for thinking, that, from a very early period, there was a house of monks established at Tisbury. Tanner tells us,[3]—

[1] See Kemble's Saxons in England, i., 351.

[2] It occurs, as a land-mark near *Puritone* (Purton), in North Wilts, in a charter, of the year A.D. 796, by which Ecgfrith, King of Mercia, restores to the 'Abbot Cuthbert and the brethren of the monastery at Malmesbury' lands at that place, which had been taken from them by his father Offa. See Cod. Diplom., No. 174.

[3] Notitia Monastica, p. 593.

'Wintra, Abbot of Tisselbury (so the word is spelt), in the kingdom of the West Saxons, is mentioned in a life of St. Boniface, (in "Cressy's Church History,") as flourishing about the year A.D. 720.' He adds, in a note, that the tradition that there was an ancient religious house here (for which he refers to a MS. letter of William Aubrey), joined with a description of its being in the West Saxon dominions, seems to make it probable that Tisbury was the place alluded to. There are two of the earlier charters printed by Kemble in the 'Codex Diplomaticus' which confirm the truth of this opinion. Amongst the names for instance of the witnesses to a charter (A.D. 704) of Ina of Wessex, by which he grants certain privileges and immunities to various members of religious houses, are those of Aldhelm, who had then recently been consecrated as Bishop of Sherborne, and '*Wintra*' who describes himself simply as '*Abbas.*' But there is another deed (A.D. 759) included in the Shaftesbury Chartulary, of Cynewulf, of Wessex, which seems quite decisive on the matter. It commences by reciting, first of all, a charter of Coinraed, King of Mercia (A.D. 703—709) by which he bestowed lands *(30 manentes)* on an Abbot, by name Bectune, and which are described as bounded "on the north by a river called Funtamel, and on the south by the lands of Bishop Leotherius."[1] The river called 'Funtamel' is evidently a portion of the Nodder, or one of its tributary streams, the name of which is still preserved in Fonthill, (the older form of which name in Anglo-Saxon charters is *Funt-gael*,[2]) which lies to the north of Tisbury. The Bishop alluded to is evidently Hlothhere, who was Bishop of the West Saxons from A.D. 670—676, and his land was no doubt situated in Eblesburne, which, judging from ancient records, comprised a considerable tract of country extending from Toney Stratford, Bishopston

[1] The charter as preserved is a transcript of the original deed, and is found in the Shaftesbury Chartulary (Harl. MS., 61, fol. 19b.) The whole of the documents are copied in a careless and slovenly manner. The words describing the situation of the property originally bestowed by King Coinraed are as follows:—'aliquam terræ particulam donare decreverim venerabili viro Bectune abbati, id est 30 manentes, de aquilone rivus nomine *Funtamel*, ex meridie habet terram beatæ memoriæ Leotheri episcopi." Codex Diplom., No. 104.

[2] Codex. Diplom., 328, 610, 641.

(anciently called Eblesbourn), to Ebbesbourn Wake, &c., and including lands south of the 'Ebele,' as the stream that flows through it was called. Some of this territory we know belonged to the Bishops of Wessex, and the fact that in the 'Codex Wintoniensis,' the gift of other lands situated in 'Eblesburn' to divers persons is recorded in several charters,[1] leads us to the inference that they also at one time belonged to the Bishop, or were vested in him for the benefit of some religious establishment at Winchester. At all events the description, brief as it is, enables us to identify the land now in question as having been situated at Tisbury.

The charter goes on to recite that Catwali, the successor of the above-named Abbot Bectune, had sold the said lands to Wintra, Abbot of Tissebiri, and that Wintra had received a writing (libellum) testifying the purchase, but not the original deed of grant, inasmuch as it formed a portion of other grants from King Coinraed and could not be detached from them. As the original witnesses died off, a dispute had arisen between the two monasteries over which Bectune and Wintra had respectively presided. The breach was now healed by a declaration of Cynewulf that Egwald and his society in the monastery at Tissebiri, as the successors of Wintra, were entitled to the land in question. To make matters more sure the copy of the first grant was inserted in the confirmation charter, the accuracy of the transcript being attested by Cyniheard, Bishop of Winton.

More than two hundred years afterwards, (A.D. 984) Tisbury was given by King Ethelred to the Abbess of Shaftesbury. This grant was a confirmation rather than an original gift. By King Edmund (c. 941—943) it had been permitted to be exchanged by his queen Ælfgifu for an estate at Bucticanlea; by King Edwy, after her death, it was restored to the Abbey at Shaftesbury, the lands at

[1] There are no less than eight successive grants, or confirmations, by various kings in the Codex Winton., of lands in *Duntune* (Downton) and *Eblesburne* (now Bishopston) to the Bishops of Winchester. See Codex. Diplom., Nos. 342, 421, 599, 610, 698, 695, 1083, 1108. There were also several other charters reciting gifts in *Eblesburn* to different persons. Codex Diplom., Nos. 655, 1079, 1088, 1209, 1232.

Bucticanlea being taken by himself. The charter is printed by Sir R. C. Hoare in his account of the 'Hundred of Dunworth.'[1] A more correct copy is furnished by Kemble in the 'Codex Diplomaticus.'[2]

The document in question is more than commonly obscure from the circumstance, to which allusion has already been made, of all the charters, &c., in the Shaftesbury Chartulary having been copied by a late scribe and in a slovenly manner. But though thus corrupt, and referring to a period nearly 900 years ago, it is nevertheless sufficiently distinct to enable one to form a tolerably correct idea of the extent of the parish, even with the aid only of the Ordnance Map. An inspection of the Parish Map was the means of identifying several of the places named in the charter, and there is no doubt that a thorough perambulation of the locality, especially if you could get from the villagers the *old* names of places which have been handed down to them from father to son for many centuries, would enable you to recognise many more.

The first place mentioned is '*Cygel-marc*,—evidently our present 'Chilmark,'—the description commencing from the point where Chilmark brook runs into the Nodder. This point can be observed at a glance on the parish map,—it is close by Teffont Evias. The boundary line proceeds by several places, the names of which we can no longer recognise, till you arrive at the '*old wood ford*,' a spot, without doubt, close by what is now termed 'Ansty water.' Several fields at no great distance from this spot are called in the present Terrier '*Odd-ford*,' and this would be only the way in which a surveyor, who did not understand the Wiltshire dialect, would spell what our countrymen would call 'ood-ford.' From the '*old wood ford*' the next point we reach is 'Nether-Head-Stock,' which here undoubtedly means Lower Donhead, and as the meaning of '*heued stoccas*,' (the form in which the word appears) is the '*head of the wood*,' the two compounds 'Donhead,' and 'Head Stock' might be regarded as almost synonymous. In the charter there is a second 'Head Stock' mentioned, but in that case it alludes to the '*head*' of what is now called 'Lady-*down*,' so that we have abundant

[1] Hundred of Dunworth, p. 236. [2] Codex Diplom., No. 641.

confirmation of the accuracy of the etymology suggested for Donhead. From Lower Donhead the line of the Parish goes by what is called the twelve acres (*be twelf aceron.*) Now in Anglo-Saxon, the word '*æcer*' denotes primarily a field without regard to its size, like the Latin 'ager,' and it is only in a secondary sense that it is used to denote a measure of land. We are not therefore surprised to find that this portion of the parish boundary (which we can very accurately identify) is of much larger extent than what we now understand by twelve acres; in fact, the real measurement is some 35 acres. But *this* is the point of interest connected with it, that, to this very day, the plot of ground retains the original name of "*the twelve acres*" which it bore 900 years ago.

From an expression in the charter, we should expect to find near this spot, as is indeed the case not far from old Wardour Castle, the remains of an old British, or Roman road; the word '*weal-wege,*' which is employed, denoting its having once existed in this vicinity. From this 'old road' the boundary line touches several places, the names of which cannot now be recognised, along '*a hedge row,*' which is certainly to be identified with the hedge on a ridge leading from Wardour to the Nodder, and which is still a parish boundary. Thence it goes to Semene (Semley),—Rodelee,—Sapcumbe,—and Poleslegh, and so to *Mare-broc (i.e.* the boundary brook), a small stream which, for a few hundred yards, bounds the parish still. Then the line proceeds to Cnugel (Knoyle),—Hicklesham,—Funtgeal (Fonthill),—Gificancumbe (Gifcombe?), and other places to Fintes-Ridge (now called simply 'Ridge'), till it again reaches the brook by Chilmark, the point from which we started on our supposed parochial perambulation. Some of the names of places which have been mentioned are no longer familiar to you. They are given in the hope of some one acquainted with the locality being able to supply information sufficient to identify one or more of them.

In the same charter from which the particulars just given have been derived, King Ethelred restores to the Abbey of Shaftesbury a place called by the unpronounceable name, SFGCNYLLEBAR. What its real name was, or where it was situated, I cannot say. It

seems to have been unjustly taken from the Abbey by one of the king's bailiffs.

Tradition speaks of 'Place Farm,' or 'Grange' in this parish, as having been a favourite country retreat of the Abbess of Shaftesbury. It was there that she, or her steward, held the Court Baron for the manor of Tisbury. There are still sufficient remains to indicate its importance in ancient times. It is approached by an old gate-way with two pointed arches. Within the court is another entrance gate-way of one arch. A small portion only of the manor-house is left, but there are fragments of an early date. There is an interesting old Grange barn more than 200 feet in length, with three entrances, having a roof of oak, the main timbers of which spring from the ground and form large arches.

The church at Tisbury deserves notice. It is one of the largest in South Wilts, and consists of a chancel, nave, two side aisles, a central tower, together with two porches, one at the west end, and the other on the north side of the church. In some of the entrance door-ways, and in the piers supporting the central towers, you have the remains of a church of earlier date. The chancel has evidently been rebuilt in the style of a later period, and tradition makes Sir Christopher Wren to have been the designer of its side windows. I do not know whether this tradition extends to the design of the east window, if so, the famous architect must have been in a far happier mood than when he drew the outlines of the others:—in fact, the east window, though peculiar in the lines of some of its tracery, and apparently of late date, is nevertheless of singular beauty. There would seem to have been two side chapels, each of which was some thirty years ago separated by a screen from the aisle of which it formed part. These, according to a tradition reported by the aged sexton, were dedicated to St. Ann, and St. John, respectively. There was also a chantry [1]

[1] In the Index to 'Sales of Chauntreys,' (vol. I., pp. 724, 726) in the Public Record Office, some lands in Tisbury, late the endowment of a chantry in the parish church, were sold to 'John Dodington;' and others, late the endowment of a chantry in St. John's, Shaftesbury, were sold to 'Wm. Ward.' Among grants in Philip and Mary is a chantry at Tysburye to — Dier.

founded in this church, as early as 1299, in honor of the Blessed Virgin. A beam in the oaken roof of the western end of the north aisle has, carved upon it, 'JESUS MARIA,' which, if in its original position, might serve to indicate the especial portion of the church set apart for this chantry. The chantry priest at the time of the Reformation was one Richard Casemore, of whom the commissioners reported as follows:—"The said incumbent is a very honest man, reputed amongst his neighbours, and not able to serve a cure; albeit he is a very poore man and hath none other living but this chauntre only."[1]

Of the tithings of Tisbury, West Hatch and Chicksgrove have some interest for us; the former, from having belonged to Lawrence Hyde, the grandfather of the great Lord Clarendon,—and the latter, from having been the birth-place of Sir John Davies, Attorney-General for Ireland, who died in 1626, a few days after he had been raised to the dignity of Chief Justice of the King's Bench. In Tisbury Church is the brass that marks the last resting-place of Lawrence Hyde, an engraving of which is given in Mr. E. Kite's volume of the 'Brasses of Wilts.' Sir John Davies's most lasting monument is to be found in those poems which he wrote on the 'Immortality of the Soul,' and on the 'Dignity of Man.' What more worthy epitaph could he have desired than the following beautiful description of the soul's ceaseless panting for eternity: [Sect. xxx.]

"At first her mother earth she holdeth dear,
And doth embrace the world and worldly things;
She flies close by the ground, and hovers here,
And mounts not up with her celestial wings.

Yet under heaven she cannot light on aught
That with her heav'nly nature doth agree;
She cannot rest, she cannot fix her thought,
She cannot, in this world, contented be.

. . . . . .

So, when the Soul finds here no true content,
And, like Noah's dove, can no sure footing take,
She doth return from whence she first was sent,
And flies to Him that first her wings did make."

[1] 'Certificates of Chauntreys,' &c., now in the Public Record Office. Certif. 56, No. 13.—Certif. 58, No. 22.—Certif. 59, No. 13.

Berwick St. Leonard.

We travel on now to Berwick St. Leonard. This parish, which is also called 'Cold Berwick,' was no doubt originally a part of Tisbury. In a recital of the various tithings of Tisbury, in the Shaftesbury Chartulary, from which 'Algar and Harding, who held the Church,' received tenths, 'Berwick' is reckoned along with Linley, Hatch, Fernhill, and others, which are still part of the parish;—and further, it is added,—"and from *all these places they bring bodies for burial to the church* at Tisbury,"—words which would seem to imply the common right belonging to every *parishioner*.[1] Amongst the tenants at Tisseberie, too, is the '*Capellanus de Sancto Leonardo*,' *i.e.*, the 'Chaplain of [Berwick] St. Leonard's.' Without doubt it was constituted into an independent cure at an early period, for, in another part of the chartulary, we have the following descriptions of the privileges of 'Ulfric, the Priest:'—"Ulfric holds the church, and half a hide adjacent to the church, and the tithe of all things from the demesne, and the tithe of the villans *(decimam villanorum)*, and 15 animals free of pasture, and 60 sheep, and 3 horses, and 15 hogs, and is entitled to one tree from the wood for his fire, and other necessaries."

This opinion as to 'Berwick' having been originally a part of Tisbury, derives support from the name itself. *Berewic*, or *Berewite*, are original forms of the word. They are found in most counties, and imply, as Sir Henry Ellis intimates, in his 'Introduction to Domesday Book,'[2] 'a member severed from the body of a Manor, as a vill or hamlet of a Manor or Lordship.' Moreover, in a summary of the Wiltshire estates given in the chartulary, Berwick is not mentioned, neither is any such place named in Domesday, omissions which are very intelligible on the supposition that it was included in Tisbury.

The church is a small building, and consists only of a chancel, nave, and south porch. In Sir R. C. Hoare's work, mention is made of a low arched recess in the north wall, under which was an altar-tomb, with a cross fleury at the top, which, it was conjectured,

[1] Harl. MS. 61, fol. 43. [2] Introduction to Domesday *(fol.)* p. 443.

contained the remains of the founder. There is also a tomb to the Howe family (the same from which Lord Howe and Lord Chedworth were descended), to whom the manor came, towards the close of the 16th century, by a marriage with the sister and heiress of Sir Richard Grobham. The Manor-house was for many years inhabited by the Howe family. It was at this house, that, according to the diary of Henry, Lord Clarendon, the Prince of Orange was entertained in 1688, its occupant at the time being the widow of Edward Hyde of Hatch, cousin to Lord Clarendon. One of the Rectors of Berwick St. Leonard, who held this living jointly with that of Kingston Deverill, Thomas Aylesbury, was a stout and fearless Royalist in the eventful times of Charles I. A sermon of his, in which, in no measured terms, the proceedings of the Parliament were denounced as rebellious, is extant. Ejected from his livings, he, together with his family, received much kindness from Sir George Horner, who, in fact, supported them all, till, at the Restoration, Thomas Aylesbury was reinstated at Kingston Deverill. He does not seem to have returned to Berwick St. Leonard, for in the year 1660, 'Richard Stone' was presented to that living by Sir George Grobham Howe, Bart.

Sedgehill.

Sedgehill, though at some little distance from Berwick, and separated from it by the two 'Fonthills,' has been for many years united with it, and the two form one benefice. Separate presentations were, however, made on two occasions, at the commencement of the 17th century, to the Rectory of Sedgehill, the King exercising the right of patronage in each case. This parish is situated in a little angle at the very extremity of the county. On one side of it is a detached portion of the hundred of Downton; on the other, of the hundred of Chalke. The church, dedicated to St. Catharine, is a small stone building, some 60 feet in length, and 19 in breadth, without any pretensions to architectural beauty. In the middle of the 16th century, the church seems to have been neither too well cared for, nor too well endowed, for at a Visitation held in 1588, the following presentment was made respecting it by the churchwardens, John

Coward, and John Hillgrove:—"We present that our chancel is very much decayed. Item, we present that the cure is left and committed to a man which can and doth teach us sound doctrine; but his allowance is so small, viz., 7*l.*, and that not so orderly paid as one could wish it. We pray you, therefore, have a care thereof, that the man may be better seen to; for thereupon, without our help, he and his were not able to live."

The manor of Sedgehill was granted, 32 Hen VIII., to Sir Thomas Poynings, who, a few years afterwards, was created Baron Poynings. By him it was conveyed to Sir Thomas Arundel, on whose attainder it fell to the Crown. It was afterwards granted to the Audley family, by one of whom it was sold (15 Eliz.) to William Grove, of Shaftesbury, and Thomas Aubrey, of Chaddenwick. The manor remained in the Grove family, though several parcels of the land have, from time to time, been sold off to divers persons. The advowson of the church has always remained attached to the Lordship of the Manor of Berwick St. Leonard.

Dinton.

Pursuing our journey through the estates of the Abbess, we now leave the hundred of Dunworth, and, entering a detached portion of that of Warminster, come to Dinton. In Domesday the word is spelt, *Domnitone*; it is so written also in the summary of the possessions of the Abbess in the chartulary. Gradually in the course of centuries it has assumed the various forms of Donyngton,—Donyton,—Dinton. It is by no means clear how Dinton came into the possession of the Abbess. There is certainly no *proof* that it ever belonged to Alfred, or that it was given by him to Shaftesbury. In the time of Edward I. the Abbess for the time being made a declaration, before the Court of the King's Exchequer, to the effect that she held Domnitone of the King in Chief, and that it appertained to her Barony by virtue of an ancient grant (*de veteri feoffamento*). In the survey of her possessions in the chartulary, the estate at Domnitone was assessed at 20 hides, which would probably represent its actual average, viz., 2600 acres. It was valued in 1293, for the purpose of levying the subsidy of *one-tenth*, granted

for the King's use, at £37 6s. This sum must be multiplied by about 20 to bring it to its relative value in the present day.

Two men, each of mark in their generation, have been connected intimately with Dinton. Here, on 5th January, 1595-6, was baptized HENRY LAWES, whose name is so closely identified with the Church Music of the 17th century. And here also, a few years afterwards, was baptized EDWARD HYDE, afterwards the great LORD CLARENDON.

Dinton of course derives its chief interest from the latter circumstance, it having been for some years the home of the 'Hyde' family. Lawrence Hyde, of whom I have spoken in my account of Tisbury, seems to have been the first owner of property here. He left the Rectory impropriate of Dinton to Lawrence his *second* son, (who afterwards, as Sir Lawrence Hyde, was Attorney-General to Anne, Queen of James I.), but charged with £40 per annum to be paid out of its proceeds to Henry, his *third* son. This Henry Hyde was the father of Lord Clarendon. He lived at Dinton, in a house no longer standing, and there several of his children were born. Edward, his third son, was born on February 18th, 1608, and the entry of his baptism, a few weeks afterwards, may be seen in the Parish Register. In his life, Lord Clarendon tells us, that he was, in early childhood, 'taught by a schoolmaster, to whom his father had given the Vicarage of Dinton,' so that an arrangement must have been made respecting the patronage between Henry Hyde and his elder brother, Sir Lawrence. It is provoking that in the Wiltshire Institutions (as printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps) there is no presentation to the living recorded between 1570 (when Henry Earl of Pembroke appointed 'George Coryate') and 1661, when the Crown nominated 'Samuel Fyler.' From an inspection of the Registers, however, in which the Incumbents' names occasionally appear, I can have little doubt that 'Stephen Roberts,' who was Vicar between the time of 'George Coryate's' decease, and the Incumbency of Philip Pinkney (who signs as Vicar in 1634), was the person alluded to as the first tutor of Lord Clarendon.

The Church at Dinton is well worth a careful inspection. It is cruciform, having a chancel, nave, two transepts, with a central

tower. The living was left by will, at the commencement of the 18th century, by one of the Hyde family, to the College of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford. Dr. James Hyde, a brother of Alexander Hyde, Bishop of Salisbury, (1665—1667), was Principal of Magdalen Hall about the same time, and his portrait still hangs in the Hall of that Society. It was by his son, Robert Hyde, who for many years was a Fellow of Magdalen College, that the bequest was made.

Teffont Magna.

Connected from time immemorial with Dinton, the next place we visit will be Teffont Magna. In the '*Nomina Villarum*,' a MS. in the Harleian collection containing the names of the Lords of Manors at the commencement of the 14th century, the parish is called 'Donyngton Teffont.' In the chartulary the word is commonly written *Theo-funta* as though it meant '*God's Fountain*,' or as we might say '*Holy Well*.' This after all, however, may be merely a conceit of the scribe who copied the various documents, for certainly no other authority can be produced for such a mode of spelling the word.

Of Teffont Magna I have very little indeed to say. There are two charters relating to it included in the Shaftesbury Register; by one, land at Tefunte is given by Æthelbald of Wessex (A.D. 860) to his 'beloved and venerable minister Osmund,'[1] and by another land here is bestowed by Edgar (A.D. 964), on 'his faithful minister Sigestan.'[2]

The church at Teffont is described as being very small and barn-like. Thirty years ago a portion of the Rood Loft was to be seen; and a pointed arched doorway on the North side was almost the only memorial of the ancient church. There is still a circular font, which is plain and massive.

Keevil.

The last place of the possessions of the Abbess which we shall visit will be Keevil. I should like to say a few words concerning

[1] Codex Diplom. No. 284.

[2] Codex Diplom., No. 513. In this charter it is written *Trofante*, but it seems evidently to mean the same place.

this parish, because a series of most interesting documents, in which a portion of its history is minutely detailed, is included in the Edington Chartulary. Keevil is in the hundred of Whorwelsdown. In Domesday it is said to belong to Ernulfus de Hesding. By him the church and sundry lands attached to it were given to Shaftesbury, on his dedicating a certain kinswoman as a nun in that convent. The son of Ernulfus de Hesding subsequently confirmed the father's gift, and the Rectory of Keevil, with its appurtenances, became part of the possessions of Shaftesbury.

In A.D. 1393 John Bleobury, one of the executors of Bishop William of Edington, the founder of Edington Priory (which is but a few miles from Keevil), arranged to purchase from the Abbess of Shaston the impropriation of the Rectory of Keevil. It is to this purchase that the deeds, to which I have alluded, relate.

The deeds commence by reciting the gift of Ernulfus de Hesding, and the son's confirmation of his father's gift to the Abbey of Shaftesbury. Then, after a description of some of the prescriptive rights of the Rector of Keevil, one of which was an oak yearly from the Lord's park for fire-wood and other necessaries, we have a certificate from the King, as to the undoubted right of the Abbess to the presentation to the Church of Keevil. Next follows a petition, drawn up in Norman French, addressed to the King, in which permission is requested for the Abbess to convey the said presentation to the Rector and Convent at Edington.

The reply to this petition, is, first of all, a commission issued to certain persons to make inquisition as to whether any harm would come to the Crown by the said transfer. This enquiry ending satisfactorily, the licence of the King is granted for proceeding in the matter. The agreements are next made between the Abbess of Shaftesbury and the Rector of the Convent of Edington, with all the accustomed formalities. A reserved rent of four marks, to be paid annually to her Convent, is stipulated for by the Abbess.

This part of the business completed, the Bishop of Sarum is next applied to for his sanction. A similar round of 'inquisitions' is to be gone over in this case also, the Archdeacon acting as the Bishop's representative, and making a long report, which is duly

chronicled in the chartulary. A composition of some little amount, in the shape of an annual 'pension,' being secured to the Bishop, the Dean and Chapter, and the Archdeacon respectively, a commission is issued to 'John Manston, Bachelor of Laws, (13 May, 1395), authorising him to enter as Proctor, for the Rector of Edington Monastery on the Church of Keevil. The manner in which he performed his duty is carefully described. He took possession by going up the centre of the Church, and then advancing to the High Altar. There, after making due reverence, he touched the sacred ornaments. He afterwards went to the Belfry, and both rung the bells himself and caused them to be rung by others. Then he advanced to the Rectory House and took quiet possession of the same, no man forbidding him. The whole proceeding was witnessed, and afterwards attested, by a number of persons who were present from several dioceses.

Two documents remain—the one is a Bull of Confirmation from Pope Boniface IX., the other, a deed by which the duties and revenues of the Rector and Vicar are defined. On the latter I will say a very few words. By a former instrument, under the hand of the Bishop, it was provided that the Vicar should have such a provision secured to him as would enable him to give to the necessities of the poor of his flock, and in this deed to which I am now alluding, the tithes of such things as he is to enjoy, and the various perquisites which are to be his, are distinctly specified. Amongst his liabilities are the following;—"Item, We ordain that the Vicar, for the time being, shall provide bread, wine, and lights for the said Church, and shall do and perform all other things, the providing, or refitting, or repairing of which has heretofore by custom devolved on the Rector for the time being, always excepting the repairing, rebuilding, or refitting of the Chancel of the said Church, in every part thereof."[1]

Last of all comes, naturally enough, the 'Bill of costs.' This is drawn out, in the Edington chartulary, in a clear and thoroughly business-like manner. To the Abbess of Shaftesbury was paid, for

[1] Lansdown MS. 442, fol. 87b.

the advowson itself £133 6s. 8d.; for expences and fees to officials £119 11s. 11d. The Crown, for itself and its servants, obtained £112 7s. 2d. To the Bishop was paid £86 4s. 2d. The Dean and Chapter of Sarum (including a fee to 'Master W. Bradelegh,' their clerk) got £75. The Bishop's Chancellor received his 'honorarium' of £5 12s. The Court of Rome, for its 'Bull of Confirmation' under the leaden seal, demanded £33 6s. 8d. Sundry law expenses in London, incurred by 'Brother Thomas Lavynton,' who seems to have been the Town Lawyer, amounted to £20 2s. 4½d. Sundry expenses at Keevil and elsewhere came to £11 15s. 2d. The total amount expended was £527 6s. 8d. (or 791 marks). Multiply this sum by 20, to bring it to its present relative value, and it will be found to represent an amount of at least £10,000.

Ecclesiastical law was tolerably dear even in the fourteenth century, when the costs of conveyance could thus reach *four times* the amount of the original purchase.

The Flora of Wiltshire:

COMPRISING THE

Flowering Plants and Ferns indigenous to the County;

By Thomas Bruges Flower, M.R.C.S., F.L.S., &c., &c.

No. VI. *(continued).*

ORDER. ACERACEÆ. (DE CAND.)

Acer, (Linn.) Maple.

Linn. Cl. xxiii. Ord. i.

Name. From *acer*, hard or sharp, derived from *ac*, (Celtic) a point. The name is supposed to be applied to this genus because the wood of some species is extremely hard, and was formerly much sought after for making pikes and lances.

1. A. *campestre* (Linn.) Field or Common Maple. *Engl. Bot. t.* 304. *Reich. Icones*, v. 162.

Locality. Woods and hedges, common. *Tree. Fl. May, June. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Frequent in all the Districts.*

A small tree with deeply fissured cork-like bark and divaricated opposite branches, common in our hedge rows and thickets, especially in a chalky soil. The leaves are of an elegant palmate shape, and give a peculiar crispness to the general aspect of the foliage, and in autumn they take varied tints of yellow and orange, which have a rich effect as forming part of the landscape. The flowers grow in clusters and are of a yellowish green colour, expanding about the 6th of May, and are in full bloom by the beginning of June. The wood is compact, of a fine grain, and often very beautifully veined, hence frequently employed by turners and veneerers. All the species abound in a saccharine juice, and from several of these sugar has been extracted on a large scale, especially from the sugar maples of America. The largest maple tree in England is in the church-yard of Boldre in Hampshire, under whose canopy the

pious and ingenious Gilpin reposes amidst scenes long blest by his pastoral labours, and illustrated by his pen and pencil.

2. A. *Pseudo-platanus,* (Linn.) Mock-plane, Great Maple, or Sycamore. Compounded of *(pseudos)* false, and *(platanos)* a plane tree, so called from the similarity of its leaves to those of the "*Platanus orientalis,*" the latter is from *(platus)* broad, from its wide spreading branches whose shade is so much valued in the East. *Engl. Bot. t.* 303. *Reich. Icones,* 164.

Locality. Naturalized in hedges and plantations. *Tree. Fl. May, June. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Introduced in all the Districts.*

A handsome tree of broad ample foliage, and highly ornamental in rural scenery, vying in point of magnitude with the oak, the ash, and other trees of the first rank, it presents a grand unbroken mass of foliage contrasting well in appropriate situations, and when judiciously grouped with trees of a lighter and more airy character, affording as Gilpin expresses it "an impenetrable shade," on which account we often see it planted close to the sunny side of the "Wiltshire dairies," to the coolness of which its presence greatly contributes.

The spring tints of the sycamore are rich, tender, glowing and harmonious: in summer its deep green hue accords well with its grand and massive form, and the brown and dingy reds of its autumnal tints harmonise well with many of its sylvan brethren. Cowper well describes the ever varying hues of

> "The Sycamore capricious in attire,
> Now green, now tawny, and ere autumn yet
> Has changed the woods, in scarlet honours bright."

This tree is generally supposed to be the sycamore mentioned in Scripture as that on which Zacchæus climbed to see Christ as he passed on his way to Jerusalem; but the sycamore of the Bible is the "*Ficus Sycomorus*" of Palestine, or Egyptian Fig tree, common in the East generally. Its fruit which closely resembles figs, is much esteemed, though extremely inferior to that of the true fig *("Ficus carica")*, which two are the only eatable ones of 200 known species. The wood is said to be indestructible, and is therefore used for Egyptian mummy cases, which have been found in a sound state after the (supposed) lapse of 3000 years.

ORDER. GERANIACEÆ. (JUSS.)

GERANIUM, (LINN.) CRANE'S-BILL.

Linn. Cl. xvi. Ord. ii.

Name. An old Latin word derived from the Greek *(geranos)* a Crane, the fruit or capsule resembling the beak of that bird.

1. G. *phæum,* (Linn.) dusky Crane's-bill, (*phaios*) signifies a reddish brown. *Engl. Bot. t.* 322. *Reich. Icones,* v. 197.

Locality. In woods and thickets, very rare. *P. Fl. May, June. Area* 1. * * 4. *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Alderbury," *Dr. Maton.* "*Bot. Guide.*" This locality is more precisely given in "*Hatcher's History of Salisbury,*" as follows. "Just within the gate (called *Eyre's Gutter Gate*) of a meadow between Alderbury and Standlynch. It was first pointed out to me by Mr. Roberts, A.L.S. I have never found it in any other part of England, except in the grounds of Thomas Slingsby, Bart., at Scriven in Yorkshire. It is one of the *plantæ rariores* of England."

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* "Lanes at Conkwell," *the late Mr. John Jelly.* Not observed of late years in either of the above localities. May this plant not have been in both instances an escape from the flower garden?

2. G. *pratense,* (Linn.) Meadow Crane's-bill. *Engl. Bot. t.* 404.

Locality. Moist pastures, not uncommon. *P. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

A handsome plant and general *throughout all the Districts,* well distinguished by its large purple flowers and multipartite leaves.

3. [G. *sanguineum.* (Linn.) This species occurs in a list of plants kindly drawn up for me by Mr. William Bartlett, for the neighbourhood of Great Bedwyn (*District* 5). Mr. Coward likewise reports it from Roundway (*District* 4). I have seen no specimens. Has there not been some mistake made?]

4. G. *Pyrenaicum,* (Linn.) Mountain Crane's-bill, probably first noticed on the Pyrenees. *Engl. Bot. t.* 405. *Reich. Icones,* v. 191.

Locality. Road sides and pastures, not frequent. *P. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1. * 3. 4. *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Banks at the sides of the London Road, near Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Amesbury," *Dr. Southby.*

3. *South-west District,* "near Hindon," *Miss Meredith.* "Westbury," *Mrs. Overbury.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Left hand side of the road just over the toll gate leading from Limpley Stoke to Winsley, waste places about Bradford, more especially on both sides of the road leading from the latter town to the Cemetery: between Chittoe and Wans House.

Distinguished by the very obtuse segments of its lower leaves (for the upper ones are acute and less divided), and its rather small numerous *purple* flowers with cleft *petals.*

5. G. *pusillum,* (Linn.) little or small-flowered Crane's-bill. *Engl. Bot. t.* 385. *Reich. Icones,* v. 190: "G. *rotundifolium.*" (Fries.)

Locality. On a gravelly soil in cultivated and waste ground. *A. Fl. June, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts,* but less frequent than "G. *molle,*" from which the even not wrinkled capsules and distinctly lobed leaves distinguish it.

6. G. *dissectum,* (Linn.) jagged or cut-leaved Crane's-bill. *Engl. Bot. t.* 753. *Reich. Icones,* v. 189.

Locality. Waste places and on dry banks, also in fallow fields occasionally. *A. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *In all the Districts common.*

Characterized by the much divided *leaves* and the short *foot stalks* of the blossoms, which as Curtis in his "Flora Londinensis" observes, thus appear as if sitting among the leaves.

7. G. *columbinum,* (Linn.) Doves-foot long-stalked Crane's-bill. *Engl. Bot. t.* 259. *Reich. Icones,* v. 198.

Locality. In cultivated and waste ground on chalk, not uncommon. Occasionally in newly cut copses on gravel. *A. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

In all the Districts, but far from frequent according to my own observations. Flowers small, leaves divided almost to their base. *Peduncles larger than the leaves, pedicels very long.*

8. G. *molle,* (Linn.) soft Crane's-bill. *Engl. Bot. t.* 778. *Reich. Icones,* v. 191.

Locality. Cultivated and waste ground. *A. Fl. April, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

In all the Districts. The wrinkled *capsules* constitute the most essential difference between this species in all its wide variations of magnitude, and the preceding.

9. G. *lucidum,* (Linn.) shining-leaved Crane's-bill. *Engl. Bot. t.* 75. *Reich. Icones,* v. 187.

Locality. Old walls, hedge banks, and cottage roofs. *A. Fl. May, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Equally distributed with the last species, stems branched shining bright red, and smooth, as are the leaves, and where much exposed often wholly tinged of a fine crimson. Haller says of this species "*tota planta amat rubescere.*"

10. G. *Robertianum,* (Linn.) stinking Crane's-bill, or Herb Robert. Herba Roberti is an old name referring probably to some unknown Physician of the middle ages, who first introduced the plant to notice. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1486. *Reich. Icones,* v. 187.

Locality. In waste ground, on walls, banks, and under hedges. *A. Fl. May, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Common in all the Districts.*

One of the most frequent and elegant of British plants, petals beautifully streaked with red and purple, with white streaks from the base, rarely all white. In exposed situations the stems and leaves often present the bright crimson hue assumed by those of "G. *lucidum.*"

11. G. *rotundifolium,* (Linn.) round-leafed Crane's-bill. *Engl. Bot. t.* 157. *Reich. Icones,* v. 190. "G. *viscidum.*" (Ehrh.)

Locality. Old walls and waste places, rare. *A. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1. * 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Amesbury," *Dr. Southby.* "Hedge banks on the Devizes road," *Major Smith.*

3. *South-west District,* "Warminster," *Mr. Wheeler.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* "Frequent about Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior.* "Near Corsham," *Miss Meredith.*

5. *North-east District,* "Burbage," *Mr. William Bartlett.* At present rare and apparently a very local species in Wilts, though not of uncommon occurrence in the adjoining county (Somerset). Further localities are desired in order that its distribution may be accurately ascertained. This plant is not unfrequently mistaken for "G. *molle,* or G. *pusillum,*" to both of which it is nearly related. But the former of these two is distinguished by its cleft or deeply emargined petals, and by its wrinkled utriculus having a smooth beak. "G *pusillum*" has emarginated petals, only 5 antheræ, and its flowers are much smaller although also pale red. The beak of the *utriculus* is not furnished with distant but with thick crowded hairs. "G. *pyrenaicum*" which is most nearly related to "G. *molle*" has a perennial root, is much larger in all its parts; has also large flowers, the petals of which are deeply cleft, and it has not a bunchy utriculus. "G. *dissectum*" is distinguished by its palmate cleft leaves, the lobes of which are linear and stand at equal distances from each other, the emarginated petals are as long as the awned calyx; the beak of the utriculus is furnished with shaggy hairs, the flower stalks are shorter than the stem leaves. "G. *columbinum*" on the other hand which is very like "G. *dissectum,*" has very long wavering flower stalks, stem leaves of the same kind, large flowers and a smooth beak of the utriculus. The genus *Geranium* cannot be distinguished at first sight from *Erodium.* But the latter has among its ten filaments five that are abortive. The beak of the utriculus is turned into a spiral shape and is internally furnished with hairs which may be most easily seen in E. *cicutarium,* the most common species.

Erodium, (L'Herit.) Stork's-bill.

Linn. Cl. xvi. Ord. i.

Name. From (*erodios*), a heron or stork, the bill of which bird the fruit or capsule resembles.

1. E. *cicutarium*, (Sm.) hemlock (*cicuta*, Lat.) leaved Stork's-bill, though the true hemlock is "*conium maculatum.*" *Engl. Bot. t.* 1768.

Locality. Banks and fields, on dry gravel, sand or chalk. *A. Fl. June, September. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. *

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, "Sandy parts of Clarendon wood, and of Alderbury Common." *Dr. Maton*, and *Mr. James Hussey.*

2. *South-Middle District*, Fields near Erlestoke.

3. *South-west District*, "near Corsley," *Miss Griffith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District*, "Malmesbury," *Mr. Hull.* "Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior.* "Gravelly cornfields at Bromham," *Miss Meredith.* Sandy fields at Spye Park, Sandridge and South Wraxhall.

Not very common in any of the Districts. This species can scarcely be absent in *District* 5, although I have seen no examples as yet from this part of the county.

The structure of the seed vessel in this genus (*Erodium*) should be attentively examined by the student as affording a beautiful and striking instance of evident design. The seeds surrounding the pistil at its base are each of them covered with a distinct and separate coat, which runs out into the form of a narrow appendage or tail, to the extremity of the style with which it is slightly connected along the whole length, and which has five grooves to receive the five seeds with their appendages. Each of these appendages has the remarkable property of contracting itself into a right line when moist. In short it is a spiral spring which lengthens and contracts itself alternately, and in proportion to the degree of moisture or dryness to which it is exposed. This power first exerts itself when the seed and its appendages are arrived at maturity, and in consequence of which it is soon disengaged from the parent plant. The power of contraction and dilatation still continue according to the changes of the atmosphere, and the seed is kept continually in motion till it is either destroyed by the vicissitudes of the season, or meets with some crevice in the earth into which it can easily insinuate itself.

From thence in the course of time a new plant begins to come forth furnished with leaves and flowers and performing all the functions of vegetable life.

2. E. *moschatum*, (Sm.) Musk Stork's-bill. *Engl. Bot. t.* 902. This plant formerly grew in some plenty under the old walls about Kingsdown, (*District* 4) where it was first noticed by the late Mr. J. Jelly. I am not aware of its having been observed in this locality of late years.

ORDER. LINACEÆ. (DE CAND.)

Linum. (Linn.) Flax.

Linn. Cl. v. Ord. iii.

Name. From *linon*, (Gr.) and this from lin (Celtic) *a thread*, hence the roots of our words lint and lint seed, line, linen, &c.

1. L. *usitatissimum*, (Linn.) so called from its extreme utility and the various economical purposes to which its several parts are applied. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1357. *St.* 26, 12.

Locality. Cultivated fields and waste ground, occasionally. *A. Fl. July. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Formerly the "Flax" was much more cultivated in Wiltshire than at present, hence found here and there so often as a straggler throughout the districts. There is another source from which it is propagated in the county, viz. by bird-catchers who carry the seeds of the flax to feed their call birds and scatter them on commons, by waysides, &c. where they vegetate but keep no permanent hold of the ground so as to form good localities. If a flower of the common flax be attentively examined we shall find that its parts are arranged in a *quinary* order. Thus there are five pieces in the calyx, five petals, five stamens, and five pistils, the germens being united into one globose capsule of ten cells. The seed of plants of this kind is composed of 2 lobes, hence they are called dicotyledons, (*Dis. twice.*) As the seed of the flax is very small, a Bean or Almond is more convenient for examination of the lobes, to facilitate which the seed must be first put into boiling water. Here then we have an excellent illustration that dicotyledonous plants observe a *quinary* disposition of their parts. As a knowledge of

the laws which regulate the numerical proportions of the parts of plants is of the greatest use in facilitating an acquaintance with vegetable organization, I shall give a brief outline of the subject on some future occasion.

2. L. *angustifolium*, (Huds.) narrow-leaved Flax. *Engl. Bot. t.* 381. This species has been observed along the banks of the Warminster Railway (*District* 3), in large quantities during the present summer (1860) by *Mr. R. C. Griffith.*

3. L. *catharticum* (Linn.) cathartic Flax, from its purgative properties. *Engl. Bot. t.* 382.

Locality. Grassy places, waysides and dry banks. *A. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Frequent in all the Districts.*

Radiola, (Gmel.) Flax-Seed.
Linn. Cl. iv. Ord. iii.

Name. (Lat.) a little ray, dimin. of *radius*, a ray; in allusion to the ray-like segments of the calyx, and capsule.

1. R. *millegrana (Smith)* Thousand-grained or many-seeded Radiola. *Engl. Bot. t.* 893. R. *linoides*, D.C. Koch.

Locality. Moist sandy ground in open heathy places. *A. Fl. July, August. Area,* 1. * * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Damp sandy places at Alderbury, *Mr. James Hussey.*

A curious and interesting little plant, often overlooked from its minute size.

ORDER. BALSAMINACEÆ. (RICH.)
Impatiens, (Linn.) Balsam.
Linn. Cl. v. Ord. i.

Name. (*Impatient*) from the sudden opening of the valves of the capsule, when the fruit is touched.

1. I. *Noli-me-tangere* (Linn.) Yellow Balsam, Touch-me-not, Quick-in-hand. *Engl. Bot. t.* 937. *Reich. Icones,* v. 198.b, St. 5·15.

Locality. Moist shady woods and banks of rivulets. *A. Fl. July, September. Area,* 1. * * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Sides of the river Avon near Salisbury." *Dr. Maton. Bot. Guide.* This plant has not been found for some years. Perhaps only the outcast of a garden, or possibly mistaken for the next species.

2. I. *fulva* (Nutt) American Balsam. *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2794. Mr. James Hussey informs me that this species has become *quite* naturalized by the river side about a quarter of a mile above Little Durnford, where it was first discovered by Mr. Edward Hinxman. Through the kindness of the former gentleman I have been favored with a specimen.

The elasticity of the *capsule* in this genus has been beautifully explained by Professor Lindley. "The tissue of the valves" says this excellent botanist "consists of cellules that gradually diminish in size from the outside to the inside, and the fluids of the external cellules are the densest. The latter gradually empty the inner cellules and distend themselves so that the external tissue is disposed to expand and the internal to contract whenever anything occurs to destroy the force that keeps them straight. This at last happens by the disarticulation of the valves, the peduncle, and the axis, and then each valve rapidly rolls inwards with a sudden spontaneous movement."

M. Dutrochet proved that it was possible to invert this phenomenon by producing Exosmose, for that purpose he threw fresh valves of *Impatiens* into sugar and water which gradually emptied the external tissue, and after rendering the valves straight at length curved them backwards.

ORDER. OXALIDACEÆ. (DE CAND.)

OXALIS, (LINN.) WOOD-SORREL.

Linn. Cl. x. Ord. iv.

Name. An old Latin and Greek appellation derived from (*oxus*) sharp or sour.

1. O. *Acetosella* (Linn.) Sour-Wood Sorrel, Sour Trefoil, Stubwort, the name ("*Acetosella*") is a dimin. of *Acetosa* an old name of

"*Rumex Acetosa*" the Sorrel Dock. *Engl. Bot. t.* 762. *Reich. Icones,* v. 199.

Locality. In damp woods and shady places. *P. Fl. May. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Found in all the Districts.*

Almost all our woods and thickets abound with this beautiful little plant, whose drooping white flowers, delicately veined with lilac, are finely contrasted with the neat bright green foliage which early in the spring spreads in verdant patches over the wrecks of the preceding autumn. The leaves are powerfully and gratefully acid, containing more or less of the *Oxalic* either in a pure state or in that of binoxalate of potash. This plant, says Gerarde, is called by herbalists *Alleluja* and *Cuckoo's* meat, because it springs forth and flowers with the singing of the Cuckoo, at which time *Alleluja* also was meant to be sung in churches. It is sometimes named *Stubwort* in Wiltshire, probably from its covering the ground among the stubs in coppices when they are cut down. Mr. Bicheno is of opinion that this plant was the ancient Shamrock of Ireland, of (typical it must be confessed of the delicacy and susceptibility temperament of its inhabitants,) and a few years since he read a very interesting paper before the Linnean Society, "On the plant intended by the Shamrock of Ireland," in which he attempted to prove by botanical, historical, and etymological evidence, that the original plant was not the white clover which is now employed as the national emblem; he stated that it would seem a condition at least suitable if not necessary to a national emblem that it should be something familiar to the people, and familiar too at that season when the national feast is celebrated. Thus the Welsh have given the *Leek* to St. David, being a favourite oleraceous herb and the only green thing they could find on the first of March, the Scotch on the other hand, whose feast is in autumn, have adopted the *Thistle.* The white clover is not fully expanded on St. Patrick's day, and wild specimens of it could hardly be obtained at this season. Besides, it was probably, nay, almost certainly, a plant of uncommon occurrence in Ireland during its early history, having been introduced into that country in the middle of the seventeenth century, and made common by cultivation. Mr. Bicheno then

referred to several old authors to prove that the *Shamrock* was eaten by the Irish, and to one that went over to Ireland in the sixteenth century, who says it was eaten, and was a *sour* plant. The name also of Shamrock is common to several Trefoils both in the Irish and Gaelic languages. Now clover could not have been eaten and it is not sour. Taking therefore all the conditions requisite they are only found in the Wood-Sorrel, "*Oxalis acetosella.*" It is an early spring plant, it was, and is abundant in Ireland, it is a trefoil, it is called *Shamrog* by the old herbalists, and it is sour, while its beauty might well entitle it to the distinction of being the national emblem.

The substitution of one for the other has been occasioned by cultivation which made the Wood-Sorrel less plentiful, and the Dutch Clover abundant.

*2. O. *corniculata*, (Linn.) yellow Wood-Sorrel. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1726. *Reich. Icones*, v. 199. Occasionally observed on waste ground about Boyton. An escape from the late Mr. Lambert's garden.

*3. O. *stricta*, (Linn.) upright yellow Wood-Sorrel. *Reich. Icones*, v. 199. "In an alder-copse at Bromham," *Miss Meredith.* Probably the outcast from some garden.

ORDER. CELASTRACEÆ. (R. BROWN.)

Euonymus, (Linn.) Spindle-tree.

Linn. Cl. v. Ord. i.

Name. (*Euonymus*) propitious: from (*eù*) well, and (onoma) a name, is used by Pliny and others for the Spindle-Tree.

1. E. *Europæus* (Linn.) European or Common Spindle-Tree. *Engl. Bot. t.* 362. *Reich. Icones*, v. 309.

Locality. Hedges, and borders of woods, on a gravelly soil. *Sh. Fl. May. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

In all the Districts. The whole plant is fætid and poisonous. The Rev. E. Simms informs me the "Euonymus" occurs with white capsules about Whiteparish.[1]

[1] Aubrey says "this tree is common, especially in North Wilts. The butchers doe make skewers of it because it doth not taint the meate, as other wood will doe: from whence it hath the name of prick-timber." N. H. of W. p. 56.

ORDER. RHAMNACEÆ. (JUSS.)

RHAMNUS, (LINN.) BUCKTHORN.

Linn. Cl. v. Ord. i.

Name. *Rhamnus* (Gr.) *a branch,* from its numerous branches.

1. R. *catharticus,* (Linn.) cathartic Buckthorn. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1629.

Locality. Woods, hedges and thickets, especially on a chalky soil. Sh. *Fl. May, June.* *Area,* 1. * * 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Landford woods," *Mr. W. H. Hatcher.* "Amesbury," *Dr. Southby.*[1]

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* "Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior.* Common in hedges about Corsham and Slaughterford. "In a wood behind the Horse and Jockey," *Professor C. C. Babington.* "Kingsdown woods," *Dr. Davis.* "Hedges on Roundway," *Miss Meredith.*

5. *North-east District,* "Woods at Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

Rare in the "South Division" according to the above *area* of distribution. Extended observation will doubtless prove this species to be *not* uncommon in *Districts* 1. 2. *and* 3.

This shrub makes an excellent and handsome hedge-row, but it is seldom employed in this country from the preference given to white-thorn. Linneus is reported to have been very partial to it, and had it planted in front of his country residence at Hammerby, near Upsal. The juice of the berries made into a syrup was formerly much used medicinally. It is now seldom or never prescribed by regular practitioners.

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[1] "Buckthorn very common in South Wiltshire. The apothecaries make great use of the berries, and the glovers use it, to colour their leather yellow." (Aubrey's Nat. Hist. of Wiltshire. p. 56.)

Wayland Smith's Cave or Cromlech, near Lambourn, Berks.

By Professor T. L. Donaldson, *Architect*, Ph. D.

THOSE, who are accustomed to travel along the line of the Great Western Railway, will remember a range of downs, which on the south skirts the vale beyond the Steventon station. Near the Shrivenham station is the White Horse Hill. A series of downs runs from east to west for 30 miles or more, covering a breadth of some 12 or 15 miles. These downs rise to a considerable height, and have a series of undulations and valleys, which diversify the face of the country and give it a varied character. The geologist, the architect, and the antiquary, have here full scope for their respective pursuits. The summit of the White Horse Hill is crowned by a regularly formed fortification, by some called the Camp of Alfred, by others considered a Roman encampment. Ashdown Park, the seat of Lord Craven, and the production of Inigo Jones, lies in the very heart of the downs, about three or four miles from Lambourn. On these wild expanses, unbroken by divisions of fields, undivided by roads, are scattered in some parts a profusion of Boulders, while other spaces close by are quite free from them. These masses of rocks sometimes contain three or four tons of stone each, but others are round and smaller. These are used by the farmers to form walls, and are broken in pieces for that purpose by having a fire lighted under them, so that they become quite hot; cold water is then thrown upon them, and they split and fall to pieces. In the times of the Early Britons, the Druids constructed of such blocks their Dolmens, the Cairns, the Triliths, the Cromlechs and Rocking-stones, which abound in this country, and are found as well in Gaul, Germany, and even Spain. These rude constructions owed their origin to such regions as this range of down, where

frequent Boulders (possibly the glacial deposits of antediluvian epochs) offered ready materials to the piety and energy of the Celtic worshippers.

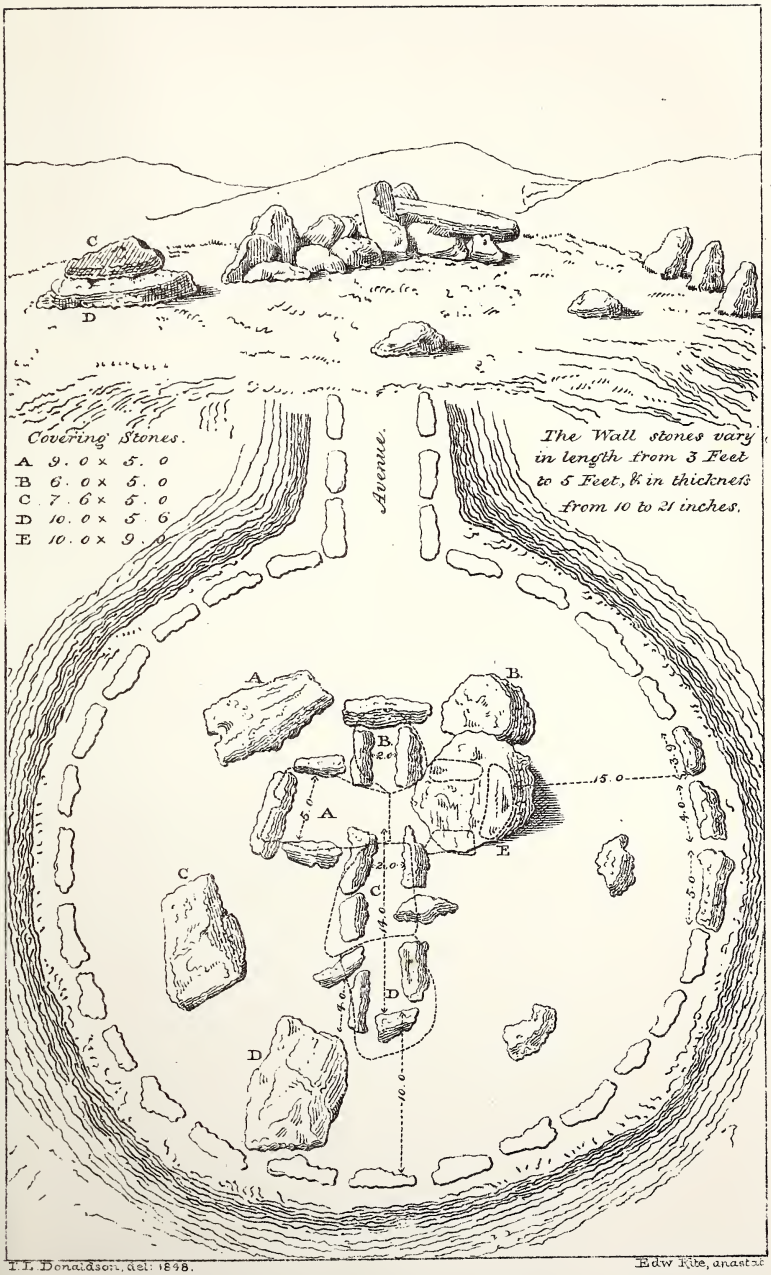
Sir Walter Scott, whose antiquarian lore is so well known, avails himself of this rude mound as a feature in his novel of "Kenilworth," where Tressilian, anxious to replace a lost shoe to his horse, is taken to it as Wayland Smith's Forge, a traditionary name of long standing. "Here are we," said Dickie, "at Wayland Smith's Forge-door." "You jest, my little friend," said Tressilian; "here is nothing but a bare moor, and that ring of stones with a great one in the midst like a Cornish barrow."

"Ay, and that great flat stone in the midst, which lies across these uprights," said the boy, "is Wayland Smith's counter, that you must tell down your money upon."

"What do you mean by such folly?" said the traveller, "beginning to be angry with the boy, and vexed at himself for having trusted such a hare-brained guide."

"Why," said Dickie, with a grin, "you must tie your horse to that upright stone, that has the ring in't, and then you must whistle three times, and lay me down your silver groat on that other flat stone, walk out of the circle, sit down on the west side of that little thicket of bushes, and take heed you look neither to right or left for ten minutes, or so long as you shall hear the hammer clink, and whenever it ceases, say your prayers for the space you could tell a hundred, or count over a hundred, which will do as well, and then come into the circle, you will find your money gone and your horse shod."

Lysons, in his "Magna Britannia," vol. i., p. 215, gives a plate of the White Horse Hill, and in the corner a rudely drawn small view of the Cromlech, which he calls "*Wayland-Smith.*" There are no trees around it. More covering stones appear to be in their places, and earth seems piled up against the central stones. He calls this a "*tumulus*, over which," he says, "are, irregularly scattered, several of the large stones, called *Sarsden Stones*, found in that neighbourhood; three of the largest have a fourth laid on them in the manner of the British *Cromlechs*. It is most probable that this *tumulus* is *British*."



T. L. Donaldson, del: 1848. Edw Kite, anast.

WAYLAND SMITH'S CAVE OR CROMLECK OF LAMBOURN, BERKS.

Were it not for the unusual size of the covering stones, and the reputation it has justly acquired, this ruin might escape notice. When we, however, come to examine its arrangement more narrowly, its form and disposition immediately class it among the most important monuments of its kind. The central figure has the form of the Latin Cross, the whole length being some 22 or 23 feet from out to out; its greatest width 15 feet. Each end of the four arms of the Cross is closed by a larger sized stone from 5 to 7 feet long and 15 to 24 inches thick, the longer arm answering to the nave of a church is 2 feet wide inside and 14 feet long, having *now* on one side four blocks, and on the other three; but I am inclined to think one has been displaced, and that there were four on that side also. These stones forming the walls are 14 or 15 in number, and vary from 3 feet long to 4 feet. The shorter arms or transepts are about 5 feet wide, and they are 5 feet deep, thus presenting the appearance of chambers 5 feet square, with the entrances narrowed to 2 or 3 feet. The short arm at the further end is 4 feet 9 inches deep by 2 feet wide, and is formed by a stone on each side and one at the end.

There were five large blocks to form the roof: one now remains in its place, covering the east transept; it is of circular form 10 feet by 9 feet on the surface, and 12 inches thick; it therefore weighs from 5 to 6 tons. The covering block of the other arm or transept is 9 feet long by 5 feet wide: that at the further end 6 feet by 5 feet; the two, which covered the nave, respectively 7 feet 6 inches by 5 feet wide, and 10 feet long by 5 feet wide, and of the same average thickness.

At the distance of 15 feet from the end of the eastern transept are three stones in their places, corresponding in size with the wall stones of the centre group, and varying from 3 feet 9 inches to 5 feet long. They seem to form the arc or portion of a circular outside ring. Although there are only two or three other stones of this size to be found on the site, I am led to think that these three stones formed a part of an enclosure, and that the rest have been removed by the peasants. The general arrangement, then, of this interesting remain would present a mound about 50 feet in diameter

at the top, surrounded by an outer ditch; the top of this mound having a circle of stones, in the centre of which is a cruciform chamber in the shape of a Latin Cross, there being one arm to the south decidedly longer than the others. On examining the ground opposite the north end, it appeared to me as though there was a continuous embankment, calculated for an alley of stones, or a *dromos*, as at Avebury, near Marlborough. And here, possibly, was an opening in the outer ring affording access to the enclosure. The whole of the mound and a considerable distance, where I suppose the avenue to have been, were some years since closely planted with fir-trees, so that it is not without considerable care that the precise form of the whole can be guessed. The species of gallery with the two lateral chambers, which the general form presents, is very like the galleries of New Grange, Wellow, Pornic, and the *Galgal* of Gavrennes: but these were all embedded in mounds, which Wayland Smith's Cave has never been. The outer circle of stones immediately raises it to the dignity of those gigantic Cromlechs (*magna componere parvis*) of Stenness in the Orkneys, Landaoudec in Crozon, at Carnac near Auray, in Morbihan, France, 20 miles to the S.E. of l'Orient, Stonehenge and Avebury in Wiltshire, with this exception, that the inner constructions were there circular, instead of being cruciform as in this instance. (See Gailhabaud, "Monumens Anciens et Modernes," article "Monumens Celtiques," 1840—50.)

I leave it to others, more versed than myself in Celtic antiquities, to decide the actual *destination* of this monument of our forefathers. May I presume to suggest, that the centre may have contained the remains of one or more deified persons held in high veneration; that the whole enclosure was dedicated to public worship; and that perhaps the covering stones themselves served as altars, and on them were possibly offered the human victims, sacrificed to propitiate the *manes* of the dead, or to appease by their bloody rites the wrath of the savage gods of the Druid Priests. T. L. D.

At the conclusion of the paper Mr. Lukis said that, while expressing what he felt sure was the sense of the meeting, viz., that the best thanks of the Society were due to Professor Donaldson

for his interesting communication, there were two or three points in it, which invited discussion.

In the first place there was an allusion to the origin of Boulders which he, Mr. Lukis, would leave to the geologists present to explain. In the next place there was the *form* of Wayland Smith's Cave, which the Professor, in his admirable and accurate ground plan, had shown to be a Latin Cross. This Mr. Lukis conceived to arise from an accidental circumstance. It was well known that Cromlechs not unfrequently had side chambers subsequently added to them. This may be seen in the published plans of New Grange, and other Cromlechs, in the instance before us, as well as in that of Du Tus, in Guernsey, and in those which abound in Britany and Scandinavia. The Professor exhibits a ground plan of a fine Cromlech on Lancresse Common, in Guernsey, in which a similar chamber is marked; but that one, which Mr. Lukis explored in conjunction with his brothers in 1838, for the first time, barely amounts to more than a small recess. These chambers, Mr. Lukis conceived, were additions subsequently made, sometimes on one side only, at other times on both sides of the original central construction. Here, at Wayland Smith's Cave, there was a chamber on both sides; but the reason for their being opposite to each other, and in the centre of the main line, so as to form with it the other limbs of a Latin Cross, was apparent. The side chambers are proportionably larger than the central one, and required to be inclosed in that part of the barrow where they would be most covered with earth. In a mound of comparatively small dimensions, the centre would present the only favourable position.

Again, Professor Donaldson seems to consider that this monument was never inclosed in a mound of earth. This, Mr. Lukis stated, was not his opinion. On the contrary he believed not only that Wayland Smith's Cave had been inclosed in a barrow, but that *all* Cromlechs were originally so inclosed. He did not think that there was any evidence to disprove this statement. All the Cromlechs he had seen, and he had carefully inspected and examined many in different parts of Europe, had confirmed his opinion. They were, in fact, sepulchral vaults inclosing the ashes of the dead,

which have been in all ages respected and carefully protected from the rude hands of men. The very fact of such gigantic labours having been bestowed upon their erection is a proof of the reverence they felt for the mortal remains of their friends. It was not likely, therefore, that they would have erected chambers for their reception, open not only to the light and to the elements, but to the irreverent gaze and treatment of different and hostile tribes.

And this would lead him, (Mr. Lukis,) to touch upon one other point, viz., his entire disbelief in the use and appropriation of the cap-stones of Cromlechs for the sacrifice of human victims. This was, he thought, an idea pretty generally exploded, now that their sepulchral nature had been satisfactorily ascertained. The cap-stones having been always covered with a mound would also render this use of them impossible.

Mr. Cunnington agreed with Mr. Lukis as to the non-sacrificial nature of Cromlechs in general, and of Wayland Smith's Cave in particular. He also disputed Professor Donaldson's conclusions with reference to Boulders, and said there could be but little doubt that at a very remote period the whole of the chalk district of England was covered with sand. The action of the sea having removed the softer portions, the more solid masses were left scattered over the surface in the manner they were now seen.

Mr. Estcourt said some years ago he heard Professor Buckland give a familiar explanation of the origin of the stones. Dr. Thurnam also disputed some portions of the learned Professor's theory, supporting his view by reference to a ground-plan of the spot hitherto unpublished, which was made by Aubrey about the latter third of the 17th century. His remarks, as well as some further observations made by him, at the request of Sir John Awdry and other members, when the Cave was visited the next day, will be found in the following paper.

On Wayland's Smithy, and on the Traditions connected with it.

By John Thurnam, M.D., F.S.A.

THE ruinous ortholithic chamber, known as Wayland Smith's Cave, was doubtless a sepulchral monument of the same general description as the chambered long-barrows at West Kennet in this county, at Uley in Gloucestershire and at Stoney Littleton, near Wellow, in Somersetshire. All of these have now been more or less carefully examined, and have been found to consist of long mounds of earth and stones, wider and higher at one end than the other; under which larger end is a chamber or series of chambers built up of large stones; the chambers, if more than one, arranged transept-fashion, with a gallery or covered passage leading to them from the edge of the tumulus. Such is likewise the construction of the great chambered barrows of New Grange and Dowth, near the Boyne in Ireland, and also of those in Caithness, in Scotland, excepting that in all these the enclosing mounds are of a circular and not of an oblong form.[1]

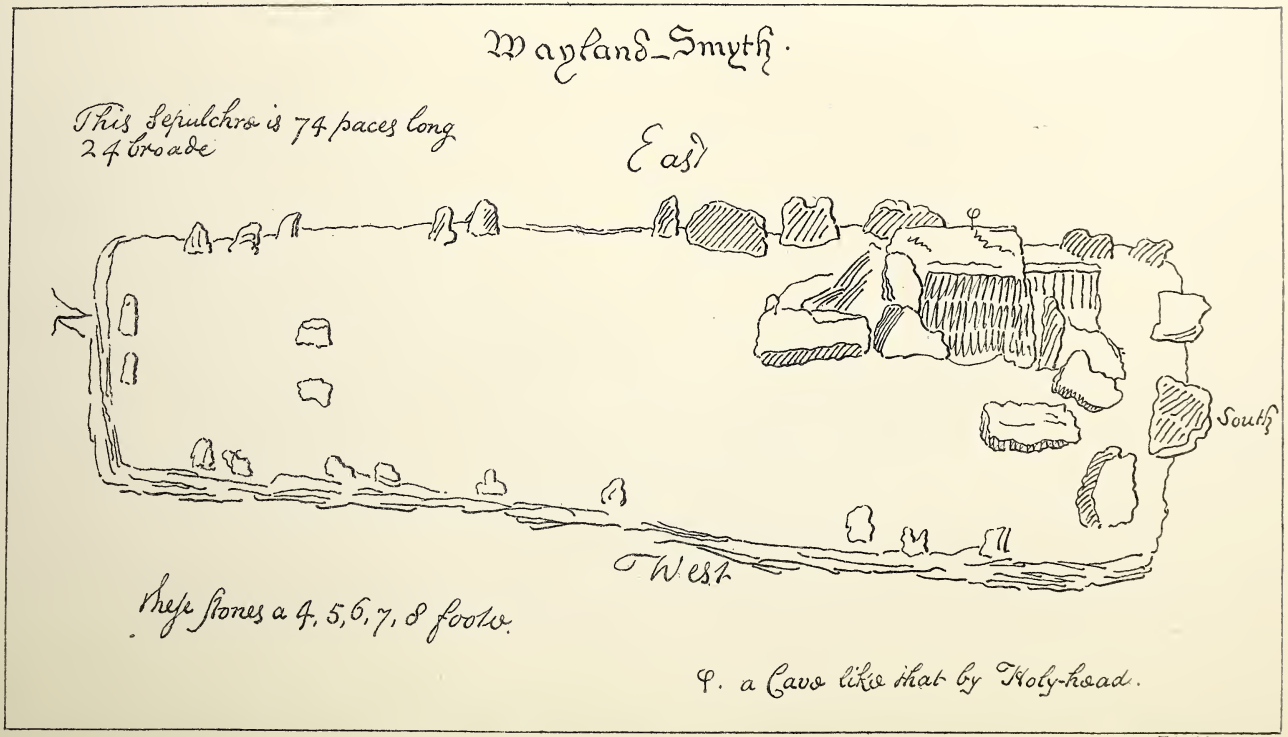
Professor Donaldson's description of the ruined chamber appears to be a very accurate and careful one; and his plan, so far as it relates to this part of the structure, and to the original position of

[1] The sepulchral chambers of Du Tus and L'Ancresse, in Guernsey, explored by Mr. Lukis, were also covered by round tumuli, and surrounded by circles of standing stones. (Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc., vol. i., p. 26, vol. iv., p. 329.) The mounds covering the great chamber of Gavr Innis, in Brittany, (Ibid, vol. iii., p. 269,) and the "Giant's Caves" of Scilly are also circular. The oblong tumulus with chambers confined to its eastern or southern end, is, so far as we know, peculiar to the counties of Somerset, Wilts, Gloucester and Berks. Though with analogies to both, it corresponds more nearly with the "Giants Chamber" than with the so-called "Cromlechs" of Denmark, as these are described by Professor Worsaae. "Primeval Antiquities," 1849, pp. 78, 86.

the displaced covering stones, is a very acceptable contribution to the ichnography of early British remains. Professor Donaldson's attention was attracted by three stones about fifteen feet to the east of the ruined chamber, which he supposes formed part of "a circular outside ring" or "enclosure;" and accordingly, in his restored plan, he shows a circle of such stones, of a diameter of about 50 feet, with the cruciform chambers in the centre. The notion that "Wayland Smith's Cave" was "enclosed within a *circle* of stones is one already adopted by Mr. J. Y. Akerman, in his "Observations on this celebrated monument;" in which he remarks that "traces of this circle are still visible around the cromlech."[1] We owe to a notice by the painstaking, though desultory, John Aubrey, the possibility of correcting this inference, and of showing that the peristalith, or ring of stones, by which the tumulus was certainly surrounded, had an oval or oblong, not a circular, arrangement. This is the disposition of the enclosing stones which obtained in the case of the long-barrow at West Kennet already alluded to, and also in that called the Millbarrow at Monkton, in the same neighbourhood, and about fifteen miles distant from Wayland Smith's Cave. In both of these mounds, the chambers as well as the enclosing stones were of the Sarsen blocks of the district, similar to those used in the construction of the Berkshire "Cave."

In the unpublished work of Aubrey, the "Monumenta Britannica," the old Wiltshire antiquary, after treating of "Barrows" and "Urnes," has a separate heading of "Sepulchres," which he distinguishes by this name from ordinary barrows or tumuli of earth. He notices and gives sketches of one in Anglesey, (Y Lleche, near Holyhead,) one at Banner's Down near Bath, and of the megalithic chamber near Saumur, in France. His more numerous examples, however, are all from North Wilts; and comprise the long stone barrows at Monkton and West Kennet, referred to above; another on the down between Marlborough and Hackpen, probably that of which the ruinous remains may be seen near Rockley; that

[1] Archæologia 1847, vol. xxxii., p. 312. The plan and view of the "Cave," which accompany Mr. Akerman's paper, are from actual admeasurement by Mr. C. W. Edmonds, who shows a few stones overlooked by Professor Donaldson.



PLAN OF WAYLAND'S SMITHY; FROM A SKETCH BY AUBREY, TAKEN ABOUT A.D. 1670.

called "Lugbury," near Castle Combe; that at Lanhill near Chippenham;[1] and that called the "Giant's Caves," at Luckington. Two less distinctive examples, at Leighterton and Lasbury in Gloucestershire,[2] are added, and then follows the brief description of "Wayland Smyth." Aubrey's first acquaintance with this monument appears to have been derived from Elias Ashmole, the Berkshire historian and founder of the Ashmolean Museum. Aubrey's original notice of it is so vague as to be of little value, though sufficient to prove our point. It is as follows:—

"About a mile from White-Horse-hill (in Berkshire) on the top of the hill are a great many great stones, which were layed there on purpose; but as tumbled out of a cart: without any order; but some of them are placed edgewise: they are a good breadth; and in length about * * * * yards.—*From Elias Ashmole, Esq.*"

At a later period, Aubrey must have visited the spot himself, and made the ground plan, which, reduced from a sketch inserted in the Monumenta Britannica, is here figured for the first time, from a fac-simile, for the use of which we are obliged to the Rev. Canon Jackson. On this plan, Aubrey tells us that the "Sepulchre is 74 paces long, 24 broade," and that the chamber or cave at the south end is "like that by Holy-head," meaning no doubt that of Y Lleche, which he had already described.[3] He adds a note as to the size of

[1] Within the last few years these two mounds have been excavated and the results published in the Wiltshire Archæol. Mag., vol. iii., pp. 67, 164.

[2] Oblong stone barrows, having chambers, cists, or pillar-stones at one end, are common in the oolitic district of Gloucestershire; where, as in the neighbouring part of Wiltshire, they are of course formed of blocks of oolite. Such exist at Boxwell, Avening, Gatcombe and Duntesbourne Abbots, (Archæologia, vol. xvi., p. 361); and, as we write, one has been explored, by the Cotswold Club, at Nympsfield, very near that at Uley, referred to at p. 326. In this, likewise, the remains of double cruciform chambers have been found.

[3] The notice of this "sepulchre" in the Monumenta Britannica is as follows:—"In Anglesey, about a mile from Holy-head, on a hill near the way that leads to Beaumaris are placed certain great rude stones much after the fashion of this draught here (in margin): * * * *. The cavity is about five foot; I remember a mountain beast (or two) were at shade within it." Sir Timothy Littleton, one of the judges that went this circuit obtained a further account for Aubrey, from "a resident justice of the peace at Holyhead;" from which it appears that these "great rough stones" were "about 20 in number and between 4 and 5 foot high: at the northern end stand two stones on end about two yards high

the stones, which he says were "4, 5, 6, 7, 8 foote." [1] The plan itself was clearly not laid down from measurements, and can have no pretensions to minute accuracy. We cannot, however, but conclude from it, that the "continuous embankment opposite the north end" of the cave, to which Professor Donaldson refers, and where he would place an "alley of stones" leading to "an opening in the outer ring," consists, of the remains of the northern end of this oblong tumulus.

Although Aubrey is our best witness, we do not depend entirely on him for the fact that this monument formed part of a long barrow. Wise, who followed Aubrey about seventy years later, described it in 1738, whilst in much the same condition as when seen by his predecessor, and long before the trees which now cover it had been planted, or many of the outlying stones removed, which was done towards the close of the last century, "for the purpose of building a barn." [2] Wise says expressly that "the stones that are left enclose a piece of ground of an irregular figure at present, but which

above ground. Some are sunk deep and some fallen flat, which are almost overgrown with earth and grasse. They are called Y Lleche (i.e. *The Stones.*) They stand upon a hillock, in the parish of Caer-Gybi." There is no notice of this monument either in Pennant or Rowland; though part of the preceding account was copied in Gibson's Camden, (1695, p. 679.) They are clearly the stones "above Holy-head" referred to by Aubrey in his description of Avebury Wiltshire Archæol. Mag., vol iv., p. 317.)

[1] Aubrey's inserted notice of Wayland Smyth contains in almost every line some ill founded assertion or crude hypothesis; it is as follows:—

"Md^{m}. On the top of White-Horse-hill is a Barrow called by the name of dragon-Hill This rich and pleasant Vale of White Horse, Hengist or Horsa (a Saxon king—*vide* in Drayton's Polyolbion) tooke into his possession. Hengist signifies a horse, as also Horsa. The White—Horse was their Standard at the Conquest of Britaine, which is the origine of the White Horse cutt out in this chalkie hill, which is seen many miles from thence; by the several barrows hereabout one may perceive here how many (?) battels fought. That Uter Pendragon fought against the Saxons is certayne: perhaps was here slayne, from whence Dragon-hill may take its denomination. And this great sepulchre called Wayland Smyth is not unlikely to be a great and rude monument of Hengist or Horsa, for in their countrey remaine many monuments like it. *Vide* Olai Wormii Monumenta Danica, v. p. 16."

Then follows the sketch of the monument, as in our anastatic plate, headed "Wayland Smyth, about half-a-mile west from the White Horse in Berks."

[2] J. Y, Akerman, Archæologia, vol. xxxii., p. 312.

formerly might have been an oblong square, extending duly North and South;"[1]—a description which is borne out by the sketches of the monument which accompany his letter. Wise describes the "Cavern" as "on the east side of the southern extremity of the enclosed piece of ground raised a few feet above the common level," and as consisting of "Three squarish flat stones of about four or five feet over each way, set on edge, and supporting a Fourth of much larger dimensions, lying flat upon them. These altogether form a Cavern * * * * which may shelter ten or a dozen sheep from a storm." "There seem," says Wise, "to have been two approaches to our Altar" (for so he would make the flat stone) "through rows of large stones set on edge, one from the South, the other from the West, the latter leading directly into the Cavern." What Wise regarded as a western approach is really a side chamber, differing only from that opposite to it on the east, in having its covering stone removed.

Sir R. C. Hoare had free access to Aubrey's "Monumenta Britannica," and it was hardly possible that he should take this monument for any other than "a long barrow, having a kistvaen of stones within it, to protect the place of interment. A line of stones encircled the head of the barrow, of which I noticed four standing in their original position; the corresponding four on the opposite side had been displaced * * *. The long barrows almost invariably point towards the east, at which end is found the sepulchral deposit, but this barrow deviates from the general rule, by pointing north and south. The adit or avenue, the stones of which still remain, goes strait from south to north, then turns abruptly to the east, where we find the kistvaen, covered by the large incumbent stone, which measures ten feet by nine."[2]

[1] Letter to Dr. Mead concerning Antiquities in Berkshire, 1738, pp. 34—39. Wise attributes Wayland Smith's Cave to the Danes, making it the sepulchre of their king Bagsec, slain at Æscesdun in 871; as Aubrey, with equal improbability, makes it the monument of Hengist or Horsa. Sir Walter Scott (Notes to Kenilworth, chap. 13,) adopts Wise's view; but he never saw the place, and, as the author of the "Scouring of the White Horse" (1859 p. 69) says, "He should have known better. The Danish king was no more buried there than in Westminster Abbey."

[2] Ancient Wilts, vol. ii., p. 47. The writer has condensed and in part

Sir Richard Hoare did not recognise that, in addition to the more perfect chamber existing on the east side of what he calls the adit, there had been a similar lateral chamber opposite to it on the west side; the two, with the central passage leading to them, giving to the ground-plan the form of a Latin cross. Such a cruciform arrangement of sepulchral chambers prevails in the great chambered cairns of New Grange and Dowth in Ireland; in the equally remarkable Maes-Howe, near Stenness in Orkney, lately opened by Mr. James Farrar, M.P.,[1] and in those lesser cairns in Caithness, examined a few years since, by Mr. A. H. Rhind.[2] In the chambered barrow of West Kennet there were no lateral chambers, but one large terminal one, into which the gallery opened.[3] At Uley in Gloucestershire, and at Stoney Littleton and Nempnet in Somersetshire, the lateral chambers did not consist of a single pair; but of two pairs at Uley, three at Stoney Littleton, and of at least five in that called the "Fairies' Toote" formerly existing at Nempnet.[4]

The chamber which retains its covering stone intact, and which forms the so called cave or smithy of Wayland, measures about 5 feet in length, by 4 in width. It is at present about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height in the interior. This, however, can hardly be regarded as the true height of the chamber. That in the West Kennet chambered barrow, likewise formed of large Sarsen blocks, was between 7 and 8 feet in height; and there can be little doubt that the uprights which support the cap-stone in the Berkshire example extend almost as much below the present surface as they stand above

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transposed, Sir Richard's description. It is not improbable that the barrow and the gallery leading to the chambers pointed to the south, rather than the east, in consequence of the position of the Ridgeway in that direction.

[1] Archæol. Journal, vol. xviii., p. 353. See also "Notice of Runic Inscriptions Discovered" in "Maes-Howe," 1862; printed by Mr. Farrer, for private circulation.

[2] Ulster Journal of Archæology, 1854, vol. ii., p. 100. The great Irish cairns near the Boyne, have been surrounded by peristaliths or rings of standing stones.

[3] Archæologia, vol. xxxviii., p. 403.

[4] For Uley, see Archæol. Journal, vol. xi., p. 315; for Stoney Littleton, Archæologia, vol. xix., p. 43; and for Nempnet, Gentleman's Magazine, 1789, vol. lix, p.392. All these are reviewed, in a paper by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, in the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, vol. viii., p. 35.

it. This is an opinion in which the writer is confirmed by a resident gentleman of intelligence, who at his request, some years since, examined the stones in reference to this question. There is, further, every reason to suppose that, whatever may be the case as to the western and terminal chambers, this eastern one has never been cleared out to the bottom, and that it would repay the trouble of excavation, by the disclosure of the original sepulchral deposit. It is much to be desired that such an examination should be made, as might be done at no great expense and without injury to this now celebrated monument. Had the zealous antiquary, Mr. E. Martin Atkins, of Kingston Lisle, been longer spared to us, he might perhaps, with the permission of Lord Craven, and residing as he did in the immediate neighbourhood, have undertaken this examination.[1]

Nearly all the more remarkable sepulchral mounds of our country bear traces, when excavated, of a prior opening. They appear to have been rifled in search of treasure, in very early times, and especially perhaps during the Roman period. This, on the White Horse Hill, in the parish of Ashbury, seems not only to have been dug into, but to have been in part levelled and cleared away, and the contained chambers, or cromlechs,[2] as they are sometimes called,

[1] About the year 1810, the ground covering and surrounding the stones was planted with fir trees and beeches, forming a circular plantation, such as the people here call a "folly"—Wayland's Folly. Two years ago, the firs having died were cut down, but the exterior ring of beeches remains. The whole spot is now in a very neglected state; covered with elder-bushes, briars and nettles, which render its inspection very difficult and sadly interfere with the *religio loci*. It is much to be desired that the whole enclosure within the beeches should be cleared and put in order, as was done, by Lord Craven's direction, some forty years since, when, as Scott tells us, the monument itself "was cleared out and made considerably more conspicuous." It should be added to what is stated above, that the shepherds and others say, that on driving a crowbar into the ground near the "Cave," a very hollow sound is produced, and that they are satisfied there is a cavity beneath.

[2] Cromlechs are probably all sepulchral monuments; but, with Sir Gardner Wilkinson, the writer thinks a broad distinction is to be drawn between the cromlech and the subterraneous chamber which has been covered with a mound, such as was this of Ashbury. "The *cromlech* has been confounded with the *subterraneous chamber* which frequently has a long covered passage leading into it; * * * but this last is not properly a cromlech," (Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc. vol. xvi, p. 116.); though it "has received that name, as the Cromlech

exposed, and, to a great extent, thrown down. The chamber, which was allowed to retain its cap-stone, seems in early, and probably pagan, Saxon times to have received the name of Weland's Smithy. Such at least was its name in the tenth century, as is proved by a charter of Eadred, A.D. 955, in which "Weland's Smithy" (*Welandes smiððan*) is named in the boundaries of an estate at Compton near Ashdown, where the "smithy" is represented as situate on the west side of a wide road, or opening *(geat)*, near the Ridge-way.[1] It is clear, as has been observed by Mr. T. Wright, that the name of Weland's Smithy could not have been assigned to this place unless the chamber were then exposed.[2]

A few remarks must be made on the name. This is clearly a slight corruption of the Saxon name of Weland's Smithy. The local designation for the last two centuries has been simply *Wayland Smith*,—not Wayland Smith's Cave, as the present generation have learned to call it. As "Wayland-Smyth" it appears in the MS. of Aubrey; as "Wayland-Smith" in the pages of Wise, and the same even in those of Gough[3] and King,[4] and in Lysons,[5] as late as 1813.

Wise offers an etymology for the name. After giving the story of the invisible *smith*, he proceeds as follows:—"The stones standing upon the Rudge-*way*, as it is called, I suppose, gave occasion to the

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Du Tus, in Guernsey. Some Cromlechs stand on a platform, slightly raised above the adjacent ground, but I know of none that have been covered by a tumulus, or mound of earth, of which they form the chamber." *Ibid*, vol. xvii. p. 47.

[1] Kemble, Cod. Diplom., No. 1172. Eádred grants "ministro suo Ælfheho eight "cassatos" at "Cumtune" (*sc.* Compton Beauchamp, in Berks) "juxta montem qui vocatur Æscesdun (Ash-down)." MS. Cott. Claud., B. vi., fol. 406.

[2] Archæologia, vol. xxxiii., p. 268. Journal Brit. Archæol. Association, vol. xvi., p. 51.

[3] Gough's Camden, 1789; 2nd Ed. 1806, vol. i., p. 221.

[4] King, Munimenta Antiqua 1799, vol. i. p. 130.

[5] Lysons, Berkshire, 1813, p. 215. "A little way to the west of Uffington Castle, near the *ridgeway* leading over the Downs, there is a considerable *tumulus*, commonly called *Wayland-Smith*; &c. *(vide ante, p.* 316.*)* Lysons gives a small view of the chamber, showing its position with reference to the Ridgeway and to Uffington Castle.

whole being called Wayland-Smith: which is the name it was always known by to the country people." As thus explained, Sir Richard Hoare might well speak of it as "a ridiculous name given to a British monument of very high antiquity." But though the etymology of Wise is sufficiently absurd, he has preserved what appeared an idle story of the peasantry, but by which, since the time when Sir Richard Hoare and Sir Walter Scott wrote, modern research has been enabled to recover the true origin of the name. Wise says, "All the account, which the country people are able to give of it, is 'At this place lived formerly an invisible Smith, and if a traveller's Horse had lost a Shoe upon the road, he had no more to do, than to bring the Horse to this place, with a piece of money, and leaving both there for some little time, he might come again and find the money gone, but the Horse new shod.'" This story is still laughingly told by the villagers, in almost the same words.

In his notes to Kenilworth, Sir Walter Scott says "it was believed that Wayland's fee was six-pence," (elsewhere he says "a silver groat,") "and that unlike other workmen he was offended if more was offered." The country people at the present time, say the fee was "a penny." Another story they have of him,—"that he had a servant or apprentice, whom he one day sent down the hill, for fire to Shrivenham, five miles off; that the boy, lingering by the way, enraged Wayland, who cast a huge stone at him, when at the distance of a mile, which struck him on the heel, and left the print of his foot on the stone. The boy, it is said, sat down and cried at the spot, at a place called Odstone Farm, which to this day is known as *Snivelling Corner*."[1] A stone, a Sarsen block much mutilated, is still shown by the rustics as that with which this feat was performed. A shepherd of Uffington, a neighbouring village, who wrote rhymes early in the century, on "the stories the old voke do tell," says;—

> If you along the Rudgeway go,
> About a mile for aught I know,
> There Wayland's cave then you may see
> Surrounded by a group of trees.

[1] The story given above was taken down, by the writer, from the mouths of peasants, in the parishes of Ashbury and Compton, in the present year. It contains some particulars not given by Mr. Akerman.

They say that in this cave did dwell
A smith that was invisible ;
At last he was found out, they say,
He blew up the place and vlod away.[1]

To Devonshire then he did go,
Full of sorrow, grief, and woe,
Never to return again ;
So here I'll add the shepherd's name—

Job Cork. (*Ob.* 1807, *ætat.* 67).

These tales are to be taken for what they are worth. Together, they seem to form a strangely travestied version of a well known mythical story of the North.

It was reserved for M. Depping[2] to show that in the Wayland of Berkshire tradition is to be traced Vœlund or Weland the Smith, so famous in connexion with the Norse mythology, as well as in the legends of our Saxon forefathers. His story is told at great length in the Edda; and, with variations, in the Wilkina Saga: in brief it is as follows. Vœlund was the son of the giant Wade, who obtained from the mountain *dwergr* or dwarfs, the art of working metals by fire; and excelled in making arms and in all kinds of smith's work. He fell into the hands of King Nidung, in Jutland, who, to ensure his remaining at his forge, had him

[1] Sir Walter Scott had perhaps heard of this part of the story. See his account of the explosion of Wayland Smith's dwelling, in the Eleventh Chapter of Kenilworth, first published in 1821. Scott calls the "cave" "Wayland Smith's Forge," which is the name in the Ordnance Map, No. xxxiv, published in 1828, and was probably taken from this celebrated fiction.

[2] Veland le Forgeron, &c., par G. B. Depping et Francisque Michel, Paris, 1833. M. Depping published his original essay in English, in 1822, in the New Monthly Mag., vol. iv., p. 527. The later Dissertation has been translated by Mr. S. W. Singer (Pickering, 1847, 12mo,) "Wayland Smith a Tradition of the Middle Ages, from the French;" and from this we quote. The reader may refer to the papers in which Mr. T. Wright has given a more condensed account of the legend; (Archæologia, 1847, vol. xxxii., p. 315; Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc. vol. xvi.); and likewise to Keightley's "Tales and Popular Traditions," (1834, p. 270.) It was the publication of Kenilworth which, as he himself avows, led to that of M. Depping's Essay; and also to the remarks on the legend of Wayland, by Price, in his introduction to "Warton's History of English Poetry," in 1824. The writer is not aware whether Grimm or the Danish writers, who wrote on the story of Vœlund at an earlier date, have taken any notice of the Berkshire story, but he concludes that they were not aware of its existence.

hamstrung and the tendons of his feet cut; he avenged himself by killing the king's two sons and outraging his daughter, and finally flew away, with wings of his own construction, into Seeland.

In the earliest Anglo-Saxon poems, there are traces of the same wonderful smith,—Weland. In Beowulf, he is named as the maker of the precious breastplate of the hero.

> If the war take me,
> Send back to Higelac,
> The best of war-coverings,
> That which guardeth my breast:
> It is the work of Weland. (Beow. VI., v. 898.)

In the poetical version of Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Boethius, it is said:—

> Who knows now the bones
> Of the wise Weland,
> Under what barrow
> They are concealed?

At a later period, the 14th century, in the English romance of "Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild," Rimnild gives to Horn a sword named the king of swords, or *Bitterfer*, which she tells him "Weland wrought," and that "better sword never bare knight."

A very similar legend to that current in Berkshire still prevails near Osnaburgh, in Lower Saxony, (Hanover); and it can hardly be doubted that this story and that of the Berkshire Wayland own a common origin. In a mountain cavern dwelt an invisible smith, who was said to rest by day and labour at night, for the benefit of his earthly brethren. Latterly, he confined his labours to the shoeing of horses. In front of the cavern was a stake fixed in the ground, to which the country people tied the horses they wished to have shod; but it was also necessary for them not to neglect to lay the usual fee for the labour on a large stone which was to be found on the spot. The *Hiller*, for so the smith was called, would never be seen by any one, nor would he be disturbed in his cavern.

All these legends respecting Weland are with great probability supposed to have a common source with those which refer to the Vulcan (Hephæstus) and the Dædalus of the Greeks. "Vulcan,"

say MM. Depping and Michel, "as we see from the Iliad, was the type of skilful artists. He forged metals, he fashioned the most precious works, he constructed arms and armour; he was a deity; mythology relates his cunning tricks. Moreover he was lame, maimed like Weland." A very ancient story of the Greek Vulcan is essentially identical with the Berkshire one of Wayland and his smithy. It is taken from the voyage of Pytheas, who lived in the 4th century B.C., probably in the time of Alexander the Great. Vulcan, according to this story, had his chief abode and workshop in the Lipari Isles; and whoever, it was said, deposited a piece of unwrought iron at a certain spot, with the money for the labour, on coming the following day, received for it a sword or whatever else he desired.[1]

Though perhaps the most important, Weland is not the only supernatural or unearthly being by whom sepulchral cairns or chambers have been tenanted, by mediæval, or perhaps even more primitive, superstition. "Hob Hurst's House," in Derbyshire, is a barrow of curious form, described by the late Mr. Bateman;[2] and "Obtrush Roque" is a cairn, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, surrounded by two circles of stones and containing a central cist.[3] Both derive their name from Hob-thrust, i.e. Hob o' the Hurst, a spirit supposed to haunt woods, and doubtless a descendant and representative of some old pagan divinity of the groves. Not only was the Yorkshire cairn reputed to be haunted by the goblin, but by his troublesome visits an honest farmer of Farndale was nearly

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[1] This curious passage, from the lost work of the famous Greek voyager of Massilia, is preserved by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, lib. iv., v. 761, It is not given by Depping, and was first quoted in English, in illustration of the Berkshire legend, by Price, *ubi supra*.

[2] "Ten Year's Diggings," 1861, p. 87; where are figures of the mound and of the stone cist in its interior, which was uncovered by Mr. Bateman.

[3] Phillips's "Rivers, Mountains, &c., of Yorkshire," p. 210. See also "Gent. Mag.," December, 1861, p. 662. Keightley, "Fairy Mythology," 1828, vol. i., p. 223. Thorpe's "Northern Mythology," 1851, vol. ii., p. 161. The word *ruck* (pronounced *rook*) is in familiar use in the Dales district, and signifies a pile or heap; e.g. a ruck of turf, a ruck of stones.

driven from his habitation. When his chattels were already in the cart, he was accosted in good Yorkshire, by a neighbour, with "I see you 're flitting." The reply came from Hob, out of the deep upright churn, "Aye, aye Georgie, we're flutting ye see." Upon which the farmer, concluding that change of abode would not quit him of the demon, turned his horse's head homeward.[1]

As Professor Phillips observes, "this story is in substance the same as that narrated on the Scottish Border, and in Scandinavia; and may serve to show for how long a period and with what conformity, even to the play on the vowel, some traditions may be preserved in secluded districts."

It is only necessary to add that the story of Wayland and his Smithy shows the importance, in connexion with the history of the ancient pagan belief of our country, of collecting and putting on record all local traditions—wherever found and however idle they may appear—before the progress of modern education and enlightenment shall have entirely eradicated them. Such legends belong to those "antiquities or remnants of history" to which Lord Bacon alludes, when he encourages "industrious persons, out of monuments, names, traditions, fragments of stories, and the like, to save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."

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[1] Tennyson has adapted this story, in his poem of "Walking to the Mail."

Erratum.

Page 225, 5 lines from the bottom. for "1672," *read* "1692."

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It is a praiseworthy custom of the present day to erect Memorials, where none exist, to eminent men of the past: and a parish church being very suitable for such purposes, its Restoration is a convenient moment for supplying omissions of this kind.

Such an opportunity is now presented at Market Lavington, where the Church is undergoing considerable alteration: that parish being able to reckon among its Natives, one of the most distinguished of English Antiquaries—Dr. Thomas Tanner, *Bishop of St. Asaph.* He was the son of the Rev. Thomas Tanner. Vicar of the parish: was born there A.D. 1674, and died A.D. 1735.

The Bishop's vast industry and ability were exercised for many years on the production of a Work of National importance, and now of the highest reputation, the "Notitia Monastica:" being an Account of all the Monasteries, Abbies, Priories, Colleges and Hospitals founded in this country before A.D. 1540. No Book is more useful, or is more used by Topographers and County Historians, especially on account of the ample references which it contains, to the Public Records and all other known sources of information from which the history of any Religious House is to be collected.

It is hoped that, by subscription, means may easily be raised for associating with the place of his Birth the memory of so great a Benefactor to English Literature. A tribute of this kind has lately been paid to the merits of John Aubrey and John Britton, in the Church of their native village, Kington St. Michael. The claims of Bishop Tanner to a similar Memorial are certainly not less than theirs.

The expense is estimated at £50.

The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological Society, will engage to carry out the undertaking in a manner satisfactory to Subscribers; and Donations in furtherance of the design may be paid by Post Office Order or otherwise, to a General or Local Secretary, or at the Bank of Messrs. Locke, Olivier and Tugwell, *Devizes*, whose London Bankers are Sir John Lubbock and Co., Mansion-House Street.

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